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The Shape of Things

GENERAL PATTON'S LATEST BREAK-THROUGH, this time across the Moselle west of Coblenz, spells the end of the last German holdings on the left bank of the Rhine, and the early expulsion of the enemy from his rich Saar and Palatinate territories. The break over the Moselle was a masterful stroke, rendering the southern portion of the Siegfried Line useless and a quick withdrawal from it imperative. As this is written—Monday morning—Patton's tanks have already advanced through Bad Kreuznach and Bingen on their way to Mainz, but the Germans are still resisting the Seventh Army's offensive, the southern arm of the big envelopment. The final bag of prisoners in this action will never be as big as the premature newspaper headlines, but if Patton maintains enough speed to cut off some more Rhine crossings he may considerably reduce the number of German effectives in the west. This is still the Allies' primary objective; it is still the only way to end the war. The effects of this process of attrition are already apparent in the furious scramble of the German high command to move troops north, south, and back again in an effort to meet each new thrust, and in the failure to mount a major counter-offensive against the Remagen bridgehead. General Eisenhower is taking maximum advantage of his increasing numerical superiority by this Russian-proved strategy of hitting several sectors one after another; and it is good generalship, not just numerical superiority, which has rolled the enemy back thus far in recent weeks. Meanwhile, the build-up of strength for the major Rhine crossing and for the break-out from the Russians' Oder bridgehead continues. The man-power to meet these onrushing contingencies is hardly to be found within the Reich today; yet the Germans continue to counter-attack the Russians in the Lake Balaton region, and to maintain twenty-five divisions in Italy. The only plausible explanation is that Hitler values Berlin and the North German plain less highly than the mountainous region of southern Germany and Austria, which these outlying troops are defending so bitterly. The Rhine break-through and the fall of Berlin will certainly spell the beginning of the end, but they will not necessarily spell the end itself.

*

SOME OF THAT MUCH-DESIRED MAN-POWER IS still holed up in the French Atlantic ports. Those who like to think of Franco as a potential friend should be interested in Ed Murrow's report from Paris Sunday that Allied aircraft recently sank six Spanish vessels attempting to run supplies in to these garrisons.

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THE FIVE GREAT INCENDIARY ATTACKS ON Japan's chief cities are proof enough that the B-29 has been whipped into fighting form in a remarkably short time, fit to take its place as one of the most powerful weapons of the war. Flying out three hundred strong, the Superfortresses from the hard-won Marianas bases attacked Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya again. At least twenty-nine square miles of the four cities were burned out in the first four attacks, which makes the A. A. F.'s insistence that these were "precision" raids a little puzzling. More precise aiming is certainly possible from 5,000 feet than from 25,000 to 30,000, the altitude of earlier B-29 attacks, and the planes went in singly so the bombardiers could get the best run on their targets; but the use of the fearsome gasoline-jell M-69 incendiary in such large clusters can do nothing less than devastate a large area. (The bomb weighs six pounds, burns for eight to ten minutes at above 3,000° Fahrenheit, and clings "tenaciously to any surface"; a large cluster of thirty-eight bombs breaks open at 1,000 feet and the separated bombs drop under individual parachutes; "upon impact the delayed fuse starts the mechanism which detonates after five seconds and coughs the oil-filled cheesecloth about twenty-five yards in all directions.") This is a useful variation on the R. A. F.'s incendiary technique, especially effective in cities where so many buildings house subassembly benches for war production. Bombers won't win the war against Japan, but the increased tempo of these attacks, plus further carrier strikes such as Admiral Mitscher's week-end blows at the southern Japanese islands, will mean a much-softened enemy when the troops go in.

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THE DISCOVERY THAT A "TRADE-UNION POPE" sits in the Vatican is very encouraging. When that Pope turns out to be Pacelli, it is more than encouraging; it is positively thrilling. At least it must have seemed so to the Italian Communists, who announced their discovery on the occasion of Pope Pius's address before the Christian Workers Association. *Unitá*, the Communist publication, was profoundly moved by the liberal sentiments expressed by His Holiness and has probably greeted his talk on Sunday, March 18, attacking profiteers and religious intolerance, with even greater joy. For once Pacelli has decided to embrace the cause of the Common Man—now that his former Fascist friends are on the way out—none will surpass him in ardor. Undoubtedly, each of his Sunday pronouncements will be more radical than the last. But if *Unitá* so easily forgets the record of the present Pope, *Izvestia* remembers better. On the same day that Rome welcomed Pius XII into the democratic fold, the Soviet paper mentioned him, together with other members of the former worldwide Cliveden set, as an appeaser who would bear constant watching. We are inclined to agree with *Izvestia* rather than with *Unitá*. And we wager that before many months have passed the very people who are now singing psalms in praise of the "Trade-Union Pope" will again identify him for what he is—one of the high chiefs of international reaction.

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WASHINGTON SQUARE IS ONE OF THE FEW places in New York City where the sense of the past still lingers and mingles congenially with the present. Though the buildings on two sides of the park are more or less "modern," the row of old brick houses on the north side remains intact, and the glow of their faded bricks catching the sun, their dignity and charm still dominate the scene. The scene itself is ageless. The Square is a meeting place for babies and for grownups and for all the ages in between. For all the languages too, though Italian cadences predominate. And one of the chief ingredients is the sunshine which still has pretty much the run of the Square. Robert Moses is determined to keep it that way, and he and Lawrence M. Orton, members of the City Planning Commission, are introducing a zoning-law amendment designed to reduce the height limit on buildings facing parks of more than one acre and all other open spaces throughout the city. The immediate reason is the proposal to build a thirty-story skyscraper that would replace part of the old red-brick boundary of Washington Square on the north. We hope the amendment will be carried. The next thing is to save the old houses on Washington Square from being replaced at all.

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WE HEAR THAT AMBASSADOR ARMOUR HAS been instructed to ask Madrid for an explanation of the arrival in Spain of an average of fifty Nazi agents a week. As to the reasons for General Franco's generosity in granting entry permits, there is nothing to investigate. The story of the German occupation of Spain is six years old, and it is as natural for the occupying power to send in new men to strengthen or expand its services as for the satellite country to accept Nazi appointees without protest. Some of them are not even supposed to remain in Spain. Spain is simply a stepping-stone to Argentina, and surely General Franco is not going to transgress the tenets of *Hispanidad* by creating difficulties for dear Colonel Perón's prospective guests. But perhaps our Ambassador will inquire not *why* but *how* the Nazi agents arrive in fascist Spain. We can tell him several ways. First, there are the small boats which travel during the night between Spain and the French ports still in German hands. Some of those boats were sunk recently by British destroyers, so that we have official evidence of their operations. Then there are submarines which still find shelter in Spanish ports. Third, and quite openly, Nazi agents arrive by plane flying over France from Switzerland. But since all of these methods are well known to us we may assume that Mr. Armour and the State Department have heard about them too. So we are left to wonder what sort of questions our new Ambassador will put to Franco. We only wish we could hope that, instead of demanding explanations, Mr. Armour on his next visit to the Spanish Foreign Office would demand his passport and come back home.

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BILLS TO ESTABLISH A PERMANENT FAIR Employment Practices Committee as a regular agency in the federal government, with powers of enforcement, are being subjected to delaying tactics in both branches of Congress. In the House, where a bi-partisan bill has been approved by the Labor Committee, Southern Representatives on the Rules Committee have succeeded in repeatedly postponing consideration of the measure. Although Republican members of the committee have sufficient votes to force the bill to the floor

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against Southern opposition, they have made no move to do so. A petition signed by a majority of the House will be necessary to bring the bill up for consideration. In the upper house Senator Taft, chairman of the Republican Platform Committee, which indorsed a permanent FEPC, has shifted his position and come out against the establishment of such an agency with enforcement powers. Taft has introduced a substitute measure calling for an investigation of racial bias in employment. Despite bitter opposition from the diehard Southern bloc, supporters of the measure believe that they have sufficient support to win in both houses if they can force a vote. The triumph of the New York anti-discrimination bill has made a tremendous impression in Washington, and if the church, labor, and other public-spirited groups that pushed that bill through can bring similar pressure on a national scale, the federal FEPC can undoubtedly be passed.

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WE STRONGLY OPPOSE THE SUGGESTION OF THE special Campaign Expenditures Committee of the United States Senate to lift the present Hatch Act restriction on the size of individual contributions and the volume of partisan expenditure in political campaigns. It is true that the $5,000 limit on individual contributions is often circumvented by gifts made in the name of several members of the same family and to several different committees. It is also true that both parties in the last election evaded the $3,000,000 limitation on campaign expenditures by the use of state and supposedly independent committees. But the answer is to plug the loopholes, not to eliminate the restrictions. The Republican members of the committee want not only to remove limits on political spending by the wealthy but to impose new restraints on trade-union expenditures through such organizations as the P. A. C. Large contributions by individuals distort democratic processes, but trade-union contributions are not open to the same criticism. If workers may take joint action in their economic interest, what is wrong with permitting them to pool their pennies for political action?

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IT WOULD BE IRONIC IF THE UNITED STATES, after insisting fiercely upon freedom of the international air, were to submit to the erection of barriers across the domestic skies. But such a development is threatened by a challenge in the name of states' rights to the present system of federal regulation of commercial airlines. A number of state legislatures now have under consideration a model bill drafted by the National Association of Railroad and Public Utility Commissioners providing for state control of the interstate operations of interstate air carriers. With the airlines already very thoroughly regulated under federal laws, this is a proposal which at best would mean wasteful overlapping of authority and at worst forty-eight conflicting sets of rules and a state of confusion which might well ground airliners altogether. It is true that the association is seeking uniform legislation in all states, but as L. Welch Pogue, chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, has pointed out, "seldom have uniform statutes been uniformly interpreted and administered." If there must be state regulation of air traffic, the same authority continued, it should be limited to air carriers not subject to federal regulation. There is no doubt that in this instance Mr. Pogue voices the sentiments of the whole air-transport industry. The plight of the long-distance road carriers, forced to conform to regulations which change at every state border, is a sufficient warning. There have been too many successful efforts by the states in recent years to horn in on interstate traffic, which constitutionally lies within the realm of the federal government. On one pretext and another a network of internal tariffs and trade barriers is spreading across the land, and we are facing the loss of our greatest economic asset—a continent-wide free market. It is time to halt this balkanization of the United States.

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THE FALL OF BERLIN WILL BE A JOYFUL DAY for every anti-fascist, including those Germans in exile who have been counting the years until their country would be freed of the brown scourge. Among them is Georg Ledebour, who has just celebrated his ninety-fifth birthday. He celebrates it with the same spirit that has made him one of the most amazing figures in the international socialist movement. Active until this very moment, Georg Ledebour has never yielded to pessimism or discouragement. He has been living in Switzerland, writing tract upon tract against Hitler, and waiting for the time when he would be allowed to go back to Berlin. It was in Berlin that he reached his greatest heights —in 1918-1919, at the end of the last war, when it seemed as though the German revolution might actually triumph. The responsibility for its collapse rests with many of his colleagues, but not with Ledebour. He may have been wrong in his obstinate decision to remain at the head of a small dissident group instead of trying to exercise his influence within the party. But he was right in insisting that the weak, continuously compromising policy of the German *Sozialdemokratie* was condemning the entire German labor movement to a state of impotency and heading it toward disaster. We hope that Georg Ledebour may live to return to his country.

First Test of Yalta

BEHIND the tight Russian censorship, behind the equally effective barrier of British and American diplomatic reticence, the meaning and durability of the Yalta agreement is undergoing a test in Rumania. The importance of the test can be, and is being, exaggerated. It is important, but not so much because it will prove whether the unity of the three big Allies is going to last as because it will indicate what elements are essential to the creation of genuine unity.

Let us look at the Rumanian situation realistically. The fall of the Radescu government was inevitable; correspondents saw it coming weeks before it happened. A slow and ineffective government, it was unable to prevent disorder or put a stop to the persecution of Jews and other minorities, and unwilling—perhaps too weak—to carry through a purge of

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the fascists and pro-Nazis with which the army and the whole government structure were riddled; indeed an effective purge would have wiped out too many of General Radescu's old friends. In spite of the array of parties it appeared to represent, it had little popular support; essentially it was the sort of sluggish rightist coalition that would never get around either to pressing social reforms or to a vigorous attack on internal fascism.

Certainly the Radescu government did not provide the conditions demanded by Russia—and Rumania is, as Mr. Eden said last week, a "back area of the Red Army" operating on the Hungarian front. It is not probable that Radescu resisted Russian demands; he simply could not and did not meet them. On February 28 Moscow dispatches announced that the Soviet Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Andrei Y. Vishinsky, had arrived in Bucharest; on the same day Radescu resigned.

His successor, Peter Groza, representing the left parties in what is called the National Democratic Front, is neither an important nor a particularly popular man. He is, however, acceptable to Russia. Vishinsky "consulted" at length with King Michael before the constitution of the new Cabinet was announced. And very soon after the Groza government took over, Rumania was rewarded—and the new regime fortified—by the restoration of the northern section of Transylvania, which had been handed to Hungary by Hitler in 1941. Meanwhile Radescu, the ousted Premier, took refuge in the British embassy, asserting that he feared attack by his political enemies. It was this act that first announced to the world a division over Rumania between Russia and its chief allies.

But presently the State Department let it be known that the United States had invoked the machinery provided at the Yalta meeting for joint consultation and action in regard to liberated areas and that talks with Russia about the Rumanian situation were going on.

That is all we know or are likely to know until after the talks end. But meanwhile it would be foolish to pin too many hopes or fears on their outcome. Without any doubt Russia acted unilaterally in helping General Radescu out of office and Mr. Groza in. On the other hand, the new government has apparently made a good start. Already a vigorous purge is reported under way, and Groza seems to have succeeded in ending anti-Semitic acts and bringing together Rumanians and Hungarians in Transylvania. What can the conversations with Moscow result in? Hardly more, it would appear, than an Allied indorsement of the new regime in Bucharest together with a polite request from the British and the United States that Russia talk things over before it takes action next time. Perhaps they will also get some assurance of protection for opposition politicians, and this would be useful and justified so long as it did not interfere with the legitimate progress of the purge of fascists. But certainly the Allies could not now, if they wanted to, run the picture in reverse: they could not hand Transylvania back to Hungary, release the war criminals, and restore the unfortunate Radescu to power.

The incident shows clearly the limits placed upon collective action by the exigencies of war. Under the formula worked out at Yalta the three major Allies agreed "to consult together" on measures "necessary to discharge their joint responsibilities" when conditions in liberated or former satellite countries called for such action. No one of them is likely to think that conditions demand previous consultation when its immediate military and political interests are involved, as Russia's were in Rumania. This means, realistically, that some degree of unilateral action is inevitable at least as long as the war lasts. The best one can hope for is that, under the mutual pledge made at Yalta, intervention in the affairs of the liberated countries will not prevent the emergence in those countries of governments which represent a total and drastic repudiation of fascism and Nazism. The wiping out of fascist reaction is still the major political task of the Allied governments. This may have been hastened in Rumania by Russia's unilateral action there; it was tragically delayed in Greece by British action and in Italy by the action of both the British and ourselves. The test of Yalta is not merely, or primarily, whether every move in every area occupied or controlled by the Allies is decided upon jointly. It is rather whether the Allies have accepted jointly a clear-cut anti-fascist policy which will insure basic unity even when unilateral moves are made by one of them.

Words that Breed Trouble

MR. ROOSEVELT launched the lend-lease program with a famous simile. He said we were called upon to lend a hose to a neighbor whose home was on fire. Today Congress seems dreadfully worried lest the neighbor inadvertently use the hose to water his scorched garden after the fire itself is out. The debate in the House of Representatives on the extension of lend-lease was conducted for the most part on just such a petty and churlish plane.

Debate centered about an amendment forbidding the President to use lend-lease for "post-war relief, rehabilitation, or reconstruction." The amendment was fathered by Vorys of Ohio, backed by a Republican minority on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and accepted by the Democratic leadership of the House for fear that extension of lend-lease might be blocked on that issue. The issue itself seems to revolve around another of those unreal questions so dear to the hearts of the cantankerous. The lend-lease agreement with France, which is to be the model for a similar new agreement with the Soviet Union, limits lend-lease to war purposes. But there is a category of products, from essential foodstuffs to locomotives, which have peace-time uses as well. The French agreement provides that if the war should end before delivery of such items the French government would pay for them in cash. Thus the principle of the Vorys amendment was fully recognized and applied by the Administration two weeks before action by the House. This has, indeed, been the basic policy of lend-lease from the very beginning.

Much that was said on the floor of the House by a little group of bitter-enders and isolationists must make the American reader blush with shame. We hope the vote on extension, 354 to 28, and the shouting down of the ultra-restrictionist Buffett and Rich amendments may serve to convince our

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allies that the statements to which we refer were not typical of the American people. There seemed a disposition, in these minority quarters, to forget the blood and suffering and heroism with which our allies have repaid many times over the support given them by lend-lease. The prize for stupidity should be awarded to Miss Sumner of Illinois. She wanted to know if there was anything in the amendment to prevent us from building "a proposed TVA on the Yangtze River in China." But the most vicious bit of demagogic by-play was between Andresen of Minnesota and Jonkman of Michigan. "Can the gentleman tell me," the former asked, "why it is there are so many people in high places who want to literally take the shifts off the backs of the American people and give them away?" "I presume," Jonkman replied, "because it is to their personal benefit."

Woodruff of Michigan unconsciously described himself and his fellow-obstructionists when he told the House self-righteously of the situation he found in Europe after the last war: "The ruling classes and officials had learned exactly nothing as a result of their participation in the war. The same suspicion of each other; the same sordid selfishness. . . ." Woodruff was one of those few who voted against extension even with the Vorys amendment. The debate grew so ugly that the respected, conservative Republican Wadsworth of New York honorably brushed aside partisan considerations to defend the good faith of the Administration and to rebut some of the worst falsehoods of oppositionists in his own party. We applaud his magnanimity, and we indorse the warning expressed by Mrs. Douglas of California in her able defense of lend-lease. "Words," she cautioned her colleagues, "ring around the world. Words can destroy the peace we are trying to build for tomorrow. Words today recklessly spoken can fill hospitals twenty years from now."

Some overlapping of war aid and aid for reconstruction is inevitable. Factories are loath to take contracts for lend-lease articles which are also of peace-time value if these contracts may be canceled when the war ends. The French agreement seems to us to handle the problem admirably. But there are deeper questions of economic interest, fair dealing, and humanity which are not answered by any legal or financial devices. Devastated countries make poor markets for our products. Self-interest dictates aid in European and Asiatic reconstruction and development. Fairness requires it. Our own country might have been ravaged had not these allies taken the brunt of Axis aggression; the least we can do is to help them rebuild their gutted homes. If it was wise to give them aid to keep the war from our own shores, it is equally wise to give them aid to avert economic collapse. Other evils beside war may sweep from one country to another. Pestilence is one. Poverty is another. For the lack of European and Asiatic markets, our own workers may be without jobs. The small-minded men who spoke on the floor of the House are unworthy of the preeminent position our country occupies in the world today. Our wealth and power impose responsibilities and call for statesman-like consideration of world problems. Whether under lend-lease or by some other means, we are impelled by necessity and moral duty to help in world reconstruction. The ungenerous, picayune, and pettifogging yammering in Congress disgraces our country in the eyes of the world.

John Collier's Record

BARBARIANS, totalitarians, and bearers of the white man's burden generally view alien cultures with suspicion, whereas the truly civilized appreciate excellence in whatever cultural context it appears. Generously as American Indians have contributed to American culture, the former attitude largely characterized federal policy toward them until twelve years ago, when a drastic change was begun by one of the most civilized and able administrators in Washington, John Collier. After holding the post of Commissioner of Indian Affairs since 1933, Collier resigned this month to work in a broader field of ethnic relations with special emphasis on Indian problems in the Western Hemisphere.

First as a private citizen and later as commissioner, Collier led the fight to restore the rights of American Indians, a group whose exploitation had endured so long as to become almost acceptable. He was outraged by an official policy that was jeopardizing their lands and threatening to obliterate their culture. For over one hundred years a virtual dictatorship of Indian Affairs had sought to impose assimilation through methods which were sometimes benevolent, more often vicious, and before which the Indians had retreated into apathy or hostility. Not until Collier became commissioner was a serious effort made to give the Indians a measure of control over their own destinies. Under the Reorganization Act of 1934 more than a hundred Indian tribes have adopted constitutions, and local self-government has become well established. Indian culture, once on the point of extinction, has been revitalized and has made a remarkable adjustment to the surrounding industrial environment. The process of land loss has been reversed, credit facilities have been extended, and great strides have been made in soil conservation, the utilization of natural resources, and the development of cooperative enterprises. The once vanishing Indian is now increasing more rapidly than the general population; the Indian death-rate has dropped 53 per cent in the past twelve years.

The success of Collier's policies can be gauged by the fact that American Indians are now not a problem but an asset to the nation. While maintaining their ancient heritage they are making a remarkable adjustment to the demands of an industrial environment and are contributing notably to the war effort. This is so because the type of administration which Collier set up is based on a consideration of the needs, hopes,

IN FORTHCOMING ISSUES

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Two timely articles by I. F. Stone, *The Nation's* Washington correspondent:

¶ Must We Feed Europe? *UNNRA and the problem of food for Europe's destitute millions.*

¶ Who Will Represent Us at San Francisco? *A profile study of the United States delegation.*

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and traditions not only of the dominant group but also of the minority or dependent group. Its goal has been to balance the two in order to liberate the fullest energies and further the welfare of the maximum number of individuals of both groups. Many of the Indian Service's findings and techniques are applicable, Collier believes, in administering the affairs and protecting the rights of other minorities.

William A. Brophy, the new commissioner, has worked with Collier and is in full sympathy with his policies. He has an excellent record as chief of the Puerto Rican section of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions and may be counted on to extend the gains already made as Collier carries on the fight for democratic self-government in a wider sphere.

Alcoa in Wonderland

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 19

THE Aluminum Company of America was formed in 1888. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed in 1890. From 1893 until 1940 the company had a 100 per cent monopoly of all aluminum produced in the United States. A court of last resort has at last held the Aluminum Company of America a monopoly and a violator of the Sherman Act. Thus does anti-trust adjudication move at snail's pace its wonders to perform.

The case of the Aluminum Company evokes satire and despair. The aluminum monopoly has been the subject of two court proceedings and three investigations by the Federal Trade Commission. It has been investigated five times by the Department of Justice. It has accepted two consent decrees, one in 1912, another in 1942, rather than stand trial. It has been sued by private litigants under the anti-trust laws on at least four occasions—and grown steadily larger and more powerful.

The present proceedings began in 1933 and are still far from ended. The record, 58,000 pages long, is already of Penguin Island proportions—so huge that only two employees of the Department of Justice have, between them, read the entire record, each concentrating on one half and meeting midway in the legalistic morass. The current suit was filed in 1933 and was met at once with a piquant argument that required four years for its disposal. The Aluminum Company dug up the long-ignored and violated consent decree of 1912 and sought to use it as a shield. The company argued in substance that since the decree forbade it to engage in the practices with which it was now charged by the government, the new anti-trust suit was harassing, improper, and a mere duplication of the earlier proceedings. The idea that a company could not only violate a consent decree with impunity but utilize the decree to exempt itself from further prosecution might have been the product of a law firm in which Lewis Carroll and James M. Barrie were the senior partners. The ingenious doctrine was learnedly rejected by the United States Supreme Court in 1937.

From the standpoint of the public interest, this litigation was not all waste motion. In the First World War Arthur V. Davis of the Aluminum Company was a member of the War Industries Board. During that war Alcoa raised the price of aluminum from 19 to 38 cents per pound.Over the objections of other members of the board, Davis maintained a differential between ingot, in which Alcoa had a complete monopoly, and fabricated aluminum, in which it had some competition, at a figure which put the squeeze on his competitors.

The currrent anti-trust action has at least served to keep Alcoa on the defensive. During the great depression, while the price of other non-ferrous metals fell from 39 to 71 per cent, the price of aluminum was augustly maintained at a point but 4 per cent below that of 1927. This was in accord with Davis's philosophy, as he once explained it to the French aluminum company, "that it was better to restrict production and sell at a higher price than it was to go ahead at full capacity and sell at a low price." But Alcoa dropped its price 2½ cents in 1933 "because it feared some action" by the Department of Justice. The words are those of Judge Learned Hand in the new Alcoa decision. Successive reductions since the current Department of Justice investigation began have brought the price of aluminum down from its depression rate of 23.3 cents a pound to 15 cents a pound. This is in sharp contrast to the World War I price record and represents a sizable gain to the government. With aluminum production running upward of two billion pounds a year, a decline of 8.3 cents a pound in price is a saving of $166,000,000 a year. In this sphere at least, the heroically patient and tireless Don Quixotes of the Anti-Trust Division have not been engaged entirely in a futile task.

To their credit also must be marked up the education of a whole generation of progressive Senators and newspapermen. The Truman committee investigation was largely primed from the files of the Department of Justice and in its turn helped to make possible the vast war-time expansion of the aluminum industry against the wishes of Alcoa. Today we also have two independent producers of aluminum, Reynolds and Olin, with 202 million pounds of capacity between them and about 1,293 million pounds of capacity in government-owned plants. Thanks also to the effects of this litigation and to the brave fight waged last year by former Assistant Attorney General Norman Littell against Will Clayton, we have a Surplus Property Act which directs the disposal of these and other surplus war plants in a way which will break the hold of monopoly on the industry. Attorney General Biddle and his Assistant Attorney General in charge of anti-trust enforcement, Wendell Berge, have considerable power under that act and are using it against the aluminum monopoly. We have gained some toe-holds in the ancient battle, and it would

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be unfair and defeatist not to recognize them, however precarious we may suspect them to be.

The most encouraging aspect of the new Alcoa decision by Judge Hand and his two colleagues of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals is not its belated finding that Alcoa is a monopoly; nor its reversal, by way of a dictum of Cardozo's, of the old United States Steel case decision that "mere size" is not monopoly. "Mere size," the court now holds, if sufficient to dominate an industry, is itself a violation of the Sherman Act, a monopolistic situation subject to legal remedy. The present Supreme Court, had it not lacked a quorum to pass on the Aluminum case, would almost certainly have held likewise. But these are mere paper triumphs. Past experience has shown that the ingenuity of the corporate bar is sufficient to produce new devices for evasion far more rapidly than they can be disposed of in the staid tempo of judicial processes. The encouraging aspect of the decision is that it points to the anti-monopolistic provisions of the Surplus Property Act and puts Alcoa on notice that if government-owned aluminum plants are sold in such a way as to leave Alcoa in command of the industry, the company's dissolution may be ordered. Final action on the government's motion to dissolve the Aluminum Company was postponed until after the war and the disposal of government-owned plants. Thus the court calls attention to the only effective remedy for monopoly, the use of government-owned plants to restore competitive conditions. The remedy lies not in further anti-trust litigation but in the policy to be applied by Congress, the Surplus Property Board, and the Attorney General in the disposal of war plants.

For Judge Hand's decision underscores the futility of depending on the courts for effective action against monopoly. In the first place, the decision leaves the impression that public interest has been sacrificed to judicial good-fellowship. The lower-court decision by Federal District Judge Francis G. Caffey was extraordinarily obsequious to the Aluminum Company of America, and the Judge's conduct called either for rebuke or for a better defense than his brethren of the Circuit Court were able to furnish. I give a sample of his manner. At one point Judge Caffey declined to admit evidence unfavorable to Alcoa with the statement, "It is excluded. Proceed. I exclude it without looking at it. I don't care what is in it." The government was attempting to present evidence showing that Alcoa had bought up a Norwegian aluminum company to prevent General Motors and Ford from obtaining an independent source of supply for the light metal.

I give a sample of Judge Gaffey's reasoning methods. One of the important questions in the case arose from the admitted fact that the same stockholders, the Mellon and Davis families, control both the Aluminum Company of America and Aluminum, Ltd., of Canada. This Canadian corporate alter ego engages in practices which would be illegal for an American company, notably in the field of cartels, while the American parent concern enjoys the fruits of these practices. Should an American corporation be allowed to evade the anti-trust laws through a Canadian affiliate? Judge Caffey said it should and buttressed his finding with an analogy of exceptional irrelevance and puerility. Suppose, Judge Caffey asked, ten men formed a steel company and then the "same stockholders at the same time also organized a corporation to engage in the production and sale of cornflakes. Could it be maintained that the fact that the stockholders in these two corporations were identical . . . would render them guilty of conspiracy?"

It is not surprising that the Department of Justice complained to the Circuit Court that Judge Caffey had "sweepingly granted the findings and conclusions of law requested by the appellees [Alcoa] upon virtually every issue." The department pointed out that in one case Judge Caffey denied the existence of unfair price differentials, although his own opinion elsewhere conceded that there were "twenty proved instances" of that very practice. A few of these rulings were too much even for the camaraderie of the Circuit Court, as in the case of Judge Caffey's conclusion that Alcoa only controlled an average of 32.87 per cent of the American aluminum-ingot market. The Circuit Court held that the percentage was above 90. Yet in most cases the Circuit Court declined to look into Judge Caffey's findings and treated them with a respect they rarely deserved. The Circuit Court said weakly of one whopper that it was "not so patently implausible an explanation that the Judge was bound to reject it."

This judicial equivalent of the old school tie entangles the Circuit Court in some odd situations. Judge Caffey found that Alcoa had followed a "long-established policy . . . to live in harmony with the Sherman Act." The Circuit Court holds that Alcoa violated the act. The Circuit Court refers to "unlawful practices" and denies that Alcoa "was the passive beneficiary of a monopoly, following upon an involuntary elimination of competitors by automatically operative economic forces." But since the Circuit Court seemed to feel a gentlemanly compunction about upsetting Judge Caffey's findings, it ended, in all but one case, by accepting the district judge's inability to see these same "unlawful practices." The one case was a price-squeeze method Alcoa stopped using about twelve years ago. The net result is that while the Circuit Court recognizes that Alcoa was guilty of monopolistic practices, it doesn't seem disposed to do anything about it.

There is good ground for the Circuit Court's decision to postpone action on the government's motion for dissolution of Alcoa until after the war and the disposal of war plants. But there is no such excuse for the refusal to grant injunctive relief against specific monopolistic practices or to free Alcoa's patents for use on reasonable royalty by other business men. The greatest weakness of the decision in its unwillingness to divorce ownership of Alcoa from its Canadian Siamese twin; reluctance to take drastic action of this kind is typical of the history of the anti-trust laws. The Circuit Court did, indeed, hold the Canadian company guilty of violating the American anti-trust laws by joining in a world cartel which curtailed competition in the American market. The precedent is important on paper, but the ruling is enforceable only against foreign corporations with property in our jurisdiction. American corporations can evade it by arranging that their Canadian "Siamese twins" keep their funds and offices in Montreal. The real loophole is the use of Canadian subsidiaries as the vehicles for world cartel agreements, and this loophole is left open by Judge Hand and his colleagues.

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China and Its Critics

BY LIN YUTANG

IN EDGAR SNOW'S article China to Lin Yutang, in *The Nation* of February 17, I saw for the first time a real attempt to discuss or dispute the facts contained in my new book. This is important, for only by a fair and open examination of facts in the spirit of sober intellectual inquiry can some clarity be brought into the present confusion. Mr. Snow's opinion of my book is of course not for me to reply to; his statements of fact about China are. I am particularly happy to find the attempt made by a man whose sincerity cannot be questioned and whose friendship I value highly.

As Mr. Snow concedes my honesty and intelligence, he must concede that I knew I had nothing to gain personally by writing against the tide of opinion, even though it was to restore a sane balance. All critics admit that I have allowed merits to, and made severe indictments of, both the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party. By the very nature of my indictments, I can please neither party. No one can say that I have concealed, or failed to score, the failures of the Chinese government in censorship, in conscription, in drawing up a bill of rights, and above all in taking a clear stand for the rights of peasant and workingman, the common people. At least, I have not fallen, like some apologists, into the error of painting one side all white and the other all black. I was fully aware of the sanctity of America's sacred cow, the Chinese Communists, and knew that to suggest that the sacred cow was in fact a red bull in a china shop would be to arouse the ire of the cow-worshipers. Under the circumstances I could do one of three things—jump on the band-wagon and win cheap plaudits, evade the Communist issue and the civil war, or speak the truth as I saw it. I chose to speak out. I have never cared which way the wind blows, and I still don't.

My attitude toward the Chinese Communists is based on two major premises, arrived at after an investigation of sources and documents on both sides: first, that they are not true democrats but totalitarians of the Russian type in theory and practice, and that theirs is not the democracy China wants; second, that they have taken advantage of the war to set up a separate state and separate army for expanding party power at the cost of national unity, and that they have done so and will continue to do so in accordance with a set program. These conclusions of mine are at variance with those of others who have not examined the same sources.

Neither Mr. Snow nor I saw Yenan after 1940—I never saw it—and the "democratic" reforms were started after the winter of 1941. The main question is the reliability of available sources and documentation. I maintain that sources and documents are adequate and are available to all who take the trouble to read them or have them specially translated. My sources are (1) Kuomintang documents and publications, (2) Communist publications, especially the books and essays of Mao Tse-tung (Yenan edition), (3) successive Communist resolutions and declarations and published official telegrams on both sides, (4) editorials of the Communist paper *Hsin Hua Jih Pao,* published in Chungking, and (5) talks with Chinese people, not officials, who have lived in the occupied areas. Tens of thousands of Chinese have come over from the occupied areas, including thousands of students. Their impression of these areas is very different from the romanticized picture given to the American public. I have talked with hundreds of people who have lived and served under Communist rule, or whose relatives have. When the "Grandmother of the Guerrillas" told me that her son was shot in a boat by the Communists from the bank, together with 120 young men and girls fighting as guerrillas in Hopei, I could ignore her evidence simply because she herself had not been to Yenan.

Some of the Communist writings are extremely important as sources. I note especially Mao Tse-tung's book "The New Democracy," published in March, 1940, now in its fifth edition; the all-important "Chengfeng Wenhsien," first published in eighteen chapters, then, in 1943, revised, in twenty-five chapters (this is the sole educational material and is compulsory reading for all schools, army units, and party members); the Communist resolution of May 26, 1943, on the dissolution of the Comintern and the resolution of September 1, 1942, setting up absolute party control of all civil, military, and mass agencies after the "democratic" innovations; the important exchange of long telegrams in the winter of 1940 between the Communist commanders Chu Teh and Pen Teh-huai and the Chinese War Minister on the civil war; and, lastly, the extremely revealing "Chinese Communist Tactics and Party Lines" by Chang Hao (Lin Yu-ying), published in 1937, a complete "Tanaka Memorial" of the Chinese civil war, which, like the Japanese Tanaka Memorial, is denied by the originating party but whose authenticity has been vindicated by the ensuing pattern of events, step by step, stage by stage, up to the present month. Unfortunately Lawrence K. Rosinger's "China's War-Time Politics" does not draw on all these, and a continuing volume should be issued. Communist writings are more revealing and more valid sources than what the Communists say through their interpreters to foreigners on a conducted tour. I am sure that after a study of this material any objective student would come to conclusions similar to mine.

Furthermore, there are strange and inexplicable lacunae in the reports on China; about many things an obstinate silence is preserved. Nothing is said about the freedom of the press in Yenan. Bald statements about the "blockade" and "stopping of pay" and internal "clashes" are made without relation to time and space. When I tried to fill in the lacunae and write a coherent story that made sense, I came out with facts highly unpleasant to the Communist side. I should like to have someone explain to me why it is that intelligent observers are content to repeat bald statements without a search for causes. They uncritically accept Commu-

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nist figures even where it is possible to check them. They repeat, for example, the figure of a "half-million" troops blockading the border—put out for foreign consumption—whereas the Yenan editorials and speeches addressed to Chinese people at the height of the controversy in July, 1943, never spoke of more than 150,000. The government version mentions six divisions and two brigades, under 100,000, with specific designations and distribution points.

Mr. Snow's article fairly bristles with inaccuracies, distortions of fact, and reticences about other facts which I cannot let pass. I shall deal with them under three heads.

1. *Mr. Snow's distortions and inaccuracies.* As these are in the main unfair representations about my book or my journey, I shall make only brief corrections.

Mr. Snow states that "nowhere" did I "give evidence that" I had "lived with workers and peasants for even a few days." I toured the entire Northwest Highway for twenty days with no companions except the drivers and the strangers whom I met; I was squeezed in a bus from Neikiang to Chungking that no foreigner would care to ride in and few could survive. I made the entire railroad journey from Kweilin to Kukong and back without any companion except my nephew, and during my stay of three weeks at Kunming and Kweilin I saw only one commander, Lo Kuan-ying of the Burma campaign, and not one local official. I went back to Chungking by truck with doctors of the Emergency Medical Service Training School and repeatedly stopped at inns definitely not for foreigners. Does Mr. Snow imagine that one could escape eating, sleeping, living, talking with the ubiquious, garrulous, frank, and classless Chinese people on such a journey? And I came out with fewer reticences and a less one-sided presentation than Mr. Snow in his report on China or Russia (*vide* William L. White).

Mr. Snow's quotations from my book are intentionally inexact since he used them to point up his contentions. He quotes me as saying baldly, "I am all for the government," whereas I said, "I reserve my criticism of government failures and mistakes [for elsewhere]. . . . Here I am dealing strictly . . . with the question of China's unity in time of war, *in which* I am all for the government." He quotes what I call an "amusing *but sad* story" of conflict between guerrilla forces as merely "an amusing story," and proceeds to make fun of my "amusement." Mr. Snow says I heard a machine-gun "for the first time in [my] life" and that I "heard it then, ironically enough, not at the front, but . . . at the 'model concentration camp' for Communists, at Sian." Mr. Snow wilfully distorts the truth. I said I heard it at the military academy, not at the concentration camp, and I said it was "the first time I heard the terrific rattle of machine-guns going off ten feet above my head" (p. 137). He represents me as "fearing that they may soon control half of China, especially if America should give them arms, food, medicines, and financial help." Nowhere did I say, directly or indirectly, that the Communists should not receive American arms; do I need to answer that one about food and medicines? I said that the Communists fear American supplies for Chungking and have sabotaged them by groundless rumors, and that America should give supplies to Chungking despite these rumors.

Where Mr. Snow does not misquote me, he questions my sources and authorities. He says, "He thinks [that is, I think] things must be better at the front, where he has heard the soldiers 'have the best of everything.'" I do not think, I know—from my personal visit to the Changsha front, and from Dr. Robert Lim, who has spent the past years at the extended front, where Mr. Snow did not go. The words "have the best of everything" are the exact words of Dr. Lim, as those who heard him in New York will confirm. My authority for the statement that the Communists staged loud cheers of welcome for national troops passing close to Japanese garrisons—when their presence should have been kept secret—is none other than Governor Chungling, who was hounded out of Hopei by the Communists. Mr. Snow refers to an "anonymous informant," implying that my source was unreliable. The informant in question personally witnessed the atrocities I referred to, and I will give Mr. Snow his name and address any time he asks for them.

Mr. Snow sticks to his story that Ho Ying-chin is "pro-Japanese" and says if I "had been in China," "I could have heard 10,000 students denouncing him as such, as early as 1936, on the streets of Peiping." I was on the streets of Peiping in 1936 and witnessed the student demonstration against the Tangku truce and saw wounded students put in rickshaws. That does not alter my statement that "General Ho signed the Ho-Umetsu Tangku agreement before the war under the direction of Chiang Kai-shek, which is *the only basis for this persistent charge.* If the Chinese Communists attacked Chiang as 'pro-Japan' the charge would sound too ridiculous." Mr. Snow has failed to give any additional basis for this charge. This parroting of fifth-columnist talk is undiscriminating and mischievous, for General Ho is now commander-in-chief of all ground forces for the counter-offensive. It hurts the morale of every American soldier.

2. *Mr. Snow's reticences.* To further understanding of the China situation there are needed a factual study of the civil war, the blockade, and the stopping of pay, and an examination of the ideology and program of the Communists as expressed in their own writings.

Mr. Snow complains that he "had no way of determining the truth about most of the conflicts. . . . I refrained from writing about them, as did other correspondents, not . . . because both sides did not furnish abundant material, but because of utter lack of means of verification or documentation." It is true that there is an abundance of material, and documentation is perfectly possible. I have read at least a dozen Communist documents on the civil war, including editorials in the *Emancipation Daily,* published in Yenan, especially during July, 1943; the speeches of Chu Teh, Ho

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Lung, Lin Tsu-han, and Chou En-lai dealing with the civil war; and the important long telegram of Chu Teh and Peng Teh-huai to War Minister Ho, November 9, 1940, in reply to the latter's account of the conflicts. Whereas the government story, based on telegrams from field commanders, gives places and dates, the Communist charges give no details.

Take the case of General Pang Ping-hsun, whose name is misspelled by Mr. Snow as Pan Pin-hsien (Russian spellings regularly drop the *g* in *ng*, as "Kuomintan"), and who is cited by him as a Kuomintang general who joined the puppets. Mr. Snow conceals the fact that General Pang was forced to surrender by the Communists. According to the telegram of Field Commander Chiang Ting-wen, dated July 31, 1943, Pang, while he was fighting against 20,000 Japanese, was attacked from south of Pingshun by 5,000 Communist troops of the Eighteenth Army Corps; after he broke through, his troops were ambushed by 2,000 Communist troops near Kaoping, and all the sick and wounded soldiers were murdered. At Kuhsien he was again attacked simultaneously by 6,000 Communists of the same Eighteenth Army Corps and by 2,000 Japanese. One cannot ignore official telegrams from field commanders with names and dates or brush them aside as "Kuomintang propaganda" or just "charges and counter-charges." In other cases Communist telegrams fit in with Chungking sources, as when the Communist commander Chu Teh, in his telegram of April 14, 1943, apologized for the capture of Governor Han Teh-chin "by mistake." And what about the resolution of the Yenan Central Politburo, October, 1937? This said, "In Chinese politics the decisive factor is military power. We must in the course of the war of resistance expand as far as possible the military power of the party as the basis for capturing revolutionary leadership in the future." No, Mr. Snow, documentation is perfectly possible. We must sift and scrutinize evidence, but we must not pretend that the documents don't exist.

After two years of ruthless expansion came the blockade and the stopping of pay. I will refer only to (a) a radio communiqué from Yenan on December 13, 1944, recorded by the FCC, in which Nan Han-chen reported that the "blockade" and the "stopping of money and supplies" began *in 1941;* (b) the government report to the People's Political Council, March 8, 1941, saying they were "going to" build blockhouses and define the defense lines against the Communist border, *after the experience of the "two-year-old conflicts"*—this agrees in date with the Communist version; and (c) the regulations issued at Yenan, January 30, 1941, eighteen days after the New Fourth Army's defeat, declaring that such money as was paid to them was contraband, subject to confiscation under the laws of Yenan. It is still contraband, and they are still complaining.

3. *Are the Chinese Communists true democrats?* This question is basic to my attitude. If they were genuine democrats, and permitted liberty of thought and of the press in their own area, I would be for them.

Mr. Snow knows as well as I do that they are genuine Communists ("Battle for Asia," pp. 290-91); that the first phase of their "democratic front" is a "transitional period" during which democratic freedoms can be used to overthrow democracy and establish a "proletarian dictatorship" and a Marxist Union of Soviet Republics in the second phase ("The New Democracy," by Mao Tse-tung, Yenan edition, p. 22); that "this [present-phase] revolution is again divided into several stages according to changes in enemy and allied camps, but that its fundamental nature is not changed until the time of socialist revolution" (p. 10); that the democratic freedoms are "suitable . . . for directing revolutionary struggles" (p. 24); that, according to Mao, the Kuomintang has only one object, "democratic revolution," but the Communist revolution has two stages, a "democratic revolution" leading to a "socialist revolution" of the proletariat (p. 41). Wang Chia-hsiang, former vice-chairman of the Chinese Soviets, said in 1939—note the date—"They shall never abandon their ideals and the theories of Marxism and Leninism" (quoted by Snow). Now Mr. Snow says guardedly that they "happen to have renounced [in 1937] any intention of establishing communism in China *in the near future.*" That harmless "near future" happens to be defined by Mao Tse-tung as "several years" (p. 89), no longer than the Nazi incubation period after the Munich putsch.

The Communist Tanaka Memorial (referred to above) is as prophetic as the Japanese Tanaka Memorial. After explaining every step of past developments it predicted the present demand for a coalition government, and I can predict future developments, after November 12, 1945, with its help. Explaining the change to the United Front, in the spring of 1937, to Chinese Communists, it says, "We are abandoning the former unworkable line of advance [open communism], and seeking a workable line, a line that is convenient for achieving proletarian dictatorship" (p. 50). Going into greater detail, it says: "(*a*) Only by cooperating with the Kuomintang can we carry on the proletarian revolution, via the democratic republic, via a capitalist democracy, and pass over to a proletarian democracy to realize the proletarian dictatorship and establish a socialist society. (*b*) We are now making a compromise with the Kuomintang for the purpose of operating in the open and organizing a struggle for wide popular support. . . . (*c*) We are now making a compromise with the Kuomintang for the purpose of immediately lifting the ban on the party, releasing political prisoners, obtaining freedoms of the press and assembly. . . . *All these are in the direction of the road to proletarian dictatorship, and are at the same time preparations for the realization of proletarian dictatorship.* (*d*) We are now making the compromise, for it is a good method . . . to utilize the democratic republic to overthrow the party dictatorship of the National Government. . . . *The success of the democratic republic is the beginning of the second proletarian revolution and at the same time the realization of proletarian dictatorship*" (pp. 65-6). To study Chinese events of the past years without studying Chinese Communist writings is to go blindfolded.

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The most rigorous "one-headed supremacy" (*i-yuan-hua,* or "unitary" leadership) of the party over all civil and military administrations was established soon after the "democratic" reforms were introduced by the party resolution of September 1, 1942. The "joint commission of civil, military, and mass organizations" was abolished and replaced by the "unitary" or "one-headed" supremacy of the party committee in any area of a given grade. The all-powerful person was not the elected officer of the local party committee but the party secretary appointed by the Central Politburo. The "unconditional obedience" of other administrations in the same area was decreed. "The responsible officers of the civil and military administrations and mass organizations must execute the decisions of the party committee of the same grade, even if they disapprove of the majority decisions." Even for the Red Army, "concrete military movements shall be decided upon by the political commissioner of the military headquarters—that is, the party secretary."

As early as February, 1942, Mao Tse-tung started the "purification," or *chengfeng,* movement, "to purify thought, purify education, and purify the party." (*Cheng* means to "rectify," and *feng* means "atmosphere.") How thought is purified is evident from the book "Chengfeng Wenhsien," or "Literature of the Purification." The concrete method of purifying thought is the "utter-frankness," or *tanpai,* movement, a political Oxford Group movement in which everyone's private life is made an open book. If a member is not utterly frank about his thoughts and private conversation, other members will be utterly frank about him. The result is of course unfortunate for those whose private conversations need "purification" or "rectification."

If there is still any mystery about the similarity of these Communists to the members in other countries all over the world, their record of primary loyalty to Moscow will banish it. I cannot exonerate people who fail to report on the extreme isolationist attitude of the Chinese Communists during Stalin's pact with Hitler, or on the sharply anti-British and anti-American attitude of Mao Tse-tung, member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, 1935-43. Hitler was a "mad dog" before the pact; during the pact he was graciously referred to as "chief of state" (*yuan shou*); after June 22, 1941, he became a contemptible cur again. I can give the dates of a dozen editorials of the Communist daily published in Chungking. How about the "Hands Off European War" editorial of May 12, 1941, coming awkwardly forty days before June 22? How about the editorial of April 25, 1940, calling joining the European war a "certain road to death"? How about Mao Tse-tung's strident demand for "absolute neutrality" and his assertion that Roosevelt's lend-lease to England was "false neutrality," designed to "embroil" the United States in "the second imperialist war"? How about the sudden flare-up of intensive fratricidal warfare beginning with the signing of the pact in the summer of 1939? How about the Communist indorsement of Stalin's recognition of Japan's "Manchukuo" frontiers? And finally, how about Mao Tse-tung's calling the Anglo-American imperialists "sons-of-bitches" (*tama,* with a four-letter English word understood), while sparing the Japanese imperialists in the same sentence ("The New Democracy," p. 45)? How about his ridiculing those who think there is a difference between Anglo-American and Japanese imperialists? No, Mr. Snow, documentation is perfectly possible.

Americans owe it to themselves to study Communist programs through Communist writings. At least State Department officials should read and scrutinize the Communist Tanaka Memorial. Americans should ask themselves, Will the Chinese nation follow the Anglo-Saxon or the Russian model, and how will that affect China's alignment in the coming era of power politics in Asia? Will the Chinese gravitate toward the Anglo-American or toward the Russian orbit, and with them the other millions of Asia? And what are the forces in China today that will affect or determine that direction? What course will the 450,000,000 people of China take? Will Mr. Snow help me think and help the American people think?

[*Mr. Snow will be given the opportunity for a brief rebuttal in a subsequent issue.*]

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE INVESTIGATION of the Congressional committee into the gold conspiracy of last summer has closed, and the upshot seems to be that Messrs. Gould and Fisk were the head and front of the whole affair. . . . Nothing could have been more sensible or upright than the President's [Grant's] course throughout the whole affair. He committed in it only one error, and that was accepting the hospitality of, and entering into conversation with, such people as Gould, Fisk & Co. were then known to be. Their Erie operations had rendered them unfit company for any respectable man. . . . As long as men like Fisk find that they suffer no social damage whatever by any of their iniquities as long as they have any money, there is absolutely no check on them, neither God, man, nor devil having any terrors for them. —*March 3, 1870.*

THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE has provided for the submission to the people, women included, of an amendment to the Constitution adopting female suffrage at all elections. . . . In Utah the system is on trial, but out of 20,000 women in the territory only six or seven voted at the last election. The cause of this abstinence was explained at a recent women's-rights meeting in this city by ascribing it to the tyranny of the husbands, who would not let the women go to the polls.—*March 3, 1870.*

MR. CULLOM'S BILL for the suppression of polygamy in Utah has been shorn of its most objectionable features in its passage through the House. . . . As it stands, the bill is simply foolish. . . . The true remedy for Mormon polygamy would seem to be the opening of the Mormon territory to the ordinary influences of American civilization, and the influx into it of a large Gentile population. The reason why polygamy does not exist as an institution in civilized countries is not that people are prevented by law from marrying several wives, but that public sentiment is opposed to it. If the great mass of the American people approved of it, large harems would be found all over the country, the statute against bigamy notwithstanding.—*March 31, 1870.*

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The Walls of Stuyvesant Town

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

STUYVESANT TOWN, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's $50,000,000 plan to rebuild one of New York City's slum areas, has hit another snag. It is finding it difficult to move the thousands of families now living on the site. This strange undertaking involves more than housing, more than urban redevelopment, and Metropolitan's frustrations will serve a useful purpose if they awaken the public to the real implications of Stuyvesant Towns.

The project has aroused nation-wide enthusiasm. It has the backing of an influential group which believes that all social undertakings should be accomplished by private enterprise, at a profit—with government subsidy. It is becoming a spearhead for the effort to shift government powers from the public to the private domain. Ten states have rushed through laws authorizing Stuyvesant Towns.

Robert Moses, New York City's planning commissioner, tailored the New York law specially to suit Metropolitan's demands. It authorizes tax exemption for private enterprise, release of public streets to private enterprise, condemnation of private property for private enterprise. Even public property can be condemned. Public housing is just a public use, but private urban redevelopment is declared a "superior public use."

The city gave lavishly to Metropolitan. It exempted the improvement from taxation, surrendered streets amounting to 19 per cent of the total site area, agreed to use its public powers to force unwilling owners to sell—and slum dwellers to move elsewhere.

The tax-exemption subsidy conferred on Metropolitan amounts to about $25,000,000, almost 50 per cent of the total investment. With the cost of the assembled land not more than $14,000,000, the city could have saved millions by buying up the area and presenting it as a gift to Metropolitan. With all this expenditure not a single slum dweller is actually to be rehoused. The present residents of the area are to be crowded into other slums, making them more profitable for the owners and stabilizing the mortgages of the very institutions which are most vociferous in acclaiming the Stuyvesant Town formula. All the city gets in return is a walled-in town in which even higher-income, average-size families with children will be ineligible as tenants, in which overcrowding, the most objectionable feature of the slum pattern, is to be repeated. But more is involved than planning principles or the mathematics of a city's budget.

No sooner was Stuyvesant Town announced than Frederick H. Ecker, Metropolitan's chairman of the board, made this statement: "Negroes and whites don't mix . . . perhaps they will in a hundred years. . . . If we brought them into this development, it would be to the detriment of the city, too, because it would depress all the surrounding property." He barred Negroes from the project. Nor was Stuyvesant Town to have a school, though its population would be one-fourth that of Nevada, for Ecker feared Negro children might attend. The city meekly complied. It even agreed to raze the existing school in the area and erect a new one outside. It divested itself of all public streets and property within the inclosure. The entrances were to be posted with signs marked "private property." The City Comptroller is permitted to enter, but only during the period of tax exemption!

Organizations like the City-wide Citizens' Committee on Harlem joined with Negro leaders in opposing subsidized discrimination. They declared that Negroes should not be barred from the benefits of subsidies to which they, as well as whites, contributed. With hotels, theaters, and restaurants enjoined from discriminating, it seemed indefensible in a publicly endowed undertaking.

A local ordinance was enacted barring tax exemption for future projects in which discrimination was practiced. But the contract for Stuyvesant Town had been signed, sealed, and delivered before the ordinance could be passed. The ordinance applies to future New York City projects only. Elsewhere in the state, and in other states which have copied Moses's law, the Stuyvesant Town formula remains valid.

Metropolitan then achieved a master-stroke. In a taxpayer's action brought against the company a decision had been rendered holding that Metropolitan's discrimination policy might be challenged when the project was completed and tenants were to be selected. To me ' the issue, and to appease its Negro policy-holders, Metropolitan announced a new project, "Riverton," to accommodate 1,200 families in Harlem itself. There would now be one project for whites and one for Negroes—on the Southern pattern. Metropolitan argued that this would give Negroes the "equal protection of the laws." Northern public-housing authorities have demonstrated in their projects that in a self-contained community which creates its own environment segregation is illogical and unnecessary, but the Jim Crow pattern was established for these subsidized private developments. Here was Metropolitan's formula for meeting the discrimination issue in other states where Negro opposition might make itself felt. New York City's Board of Estimate helped by pouring the balm of several million dollars in tax exemption upon the Riverton undertaking. Interest in promoting Stuyvesant Towns has burst forth with renewed vigor. Subsidized segregation is to be the new pattern for urban development. An organized effort is even being made to repeal the anti-discrimination ordinance.

The Stuyvesant Town formula, carried to its logical conclusion in our future living pattern, will mean selected "respectable" families living in fenced-off neighborhoods, while the "undesirables," poor or rich, are relegated to ghettos. More important still, government, in divesting itself of its police powers over the streets in the project and exercising its eminent domain and spending powers for

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Metropolitan, has used its prerogatives to aid private corporations that openly refuse to abide by the restrictions to which government itself is subject in exercising those powers. Here, in the name of slum clearance, was a device for the evasion of the troublesome Bill of Rights, with its cumbrous insistence on equality and due process. If the bartering of public powers could be carried over from urban redevelopment into other enterprises, a remarkable innovation in government was indicated.

But if the city must pay so dearly for slum clearance, it might at least expect that slums would be cleared. Not even that seems likely as Metropolitan moves to overcome the most recent obstacle in its path. It now appears that the families living in the area to be cleared have no place to go. Neither Mr. Moses nor Metropolitan has made any provision for their rehousing. They can neither afford to pay Metropolitan's rents in the new project nor find quarters in a public project elsewhere.

Moses is not daunted. He has proposed that 12,000 old-law tenements of the 55,000 the city has been trying to get rid of for half a century be given a new lease of life. If their owners would agree to put in heat, hot water, and baths, it was hoped that families would be willing to pay a little more than at present and would move out of the Stuyvesant Town site, allowing Metropolitan to proceed with its venture. The city will even agree to endow the slum owners with a full ten-year tax exemption on these new improvements. Mayor LaGuardia says Metropolitan will lend them the money at 2½ per cent if they will help.

Thus on the one hand the city would be subsidizing Stuyvesant Town to clear a single slum and on the other perpetuating slums all over the city which it had hoped eventually to clear away. The increased site-acquisition cost brought about by the proposed "improvements" would make assemblage for large-scale redevelopment impossible for decades to come. Three official bodies—one in 1920, another in 1926, and a third in 1936—had grappled with the idea of rehabilitating these tenements and concluded that their narrow lots, windowless rooms, lack of yard space, and incurably objectionable design made the task impossible. They found it wiser and cheaper to tear them down and reconstruct the areas. All this was disregarded. When civic organizations objected to Moses's new proposal, he quickly amended his plan to permit remodeling only in areas approved by the Planning Commission. Enactment of legislation to carry out this plan seems assured. Since Moses, the author of Stuyvesant Town, is also the planning commissioner in charge, the disposition of the residents of the area may be awaited with interest.

But even before the bill has become law and with no remodeling begun, Metropolitan has suddenly notified tenants to move from the area. They are being shunted off in station wagons to hovels which Metropolitan says are "not worse" than those they now occupy. Many are being forced to pay higher rents. Hundreds of dwellings which could not be rented even with the present shortage are being pressed into service and again producing revenue. Slums ripe for the wrecking crew are booming. With city officials denouncing landlords of loft buildings and offices for raising the rents of big industries, official encouragement for the crowding of slum dwellers into ramshackle hazards seems incomprehensible. The OPA sits by, "watching with interest." One wonders why, with a war on, all this must be done now, particularly since Metropolitan cannot build now anyway. But there is much to wonder about in this strange undertaking.

The lessons so early derived from Stuyvesant Town are of more than local significance, for urban redevelopment

"... We Shall Never Surrender!"

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occupies a prime position on our post-war programs. There is a place for private enterprise in urban redevelopment, but our programs can be carried out only if it cooperates with the public-housing authorities. A slum is not cleared simply by tearing it down. Alternative accommodations for the slum families to be displaced, at rents they can afford, must be made available by public-housing agencies. The acquisition by cities of substandard areas and their public resale at use value to anyone willing to build in conformity with adequate planning standards are preferable to the severance of large areas of land from public control and their transfer to specially privileged institutions. Above all, the conferring of public powers on private corporations must be resisted unless it is coupled with public controls adequate to guard against the abuse of fundamental rights.

Much is still to be learned about urban redevelopment. It seems plain that New York City officials were so awed by Metropolitan's offer that they forgot to calculate the costs, examine the problems involved, or consider the long-run political implications. Construction of Stuyvesant Town and Riverton will go on, for these officials seem set upon seeing it through. The two projects may be worth their cost in the end if they demonstrate to the public how not to undertake urban redevelopment.

Conscription Between Wars

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE big debate on permanent peace-time conscription —or "universal military training," as the army leaders prefer to call it—continues to rage, making many loud and strange sounds but very little sense. The issue has been further confused by the astonishing variety of proposals for a labor draft, or "work-or-fight" act, a measure which in some quarters of the public mind has got mixed up with the military-training proposal. Recognizing this confusion, and understanding the importance of pushing only one thing at a time—the old strategic principle of concentration of forces —the army leaders have momentarily called off their high-pressure campaign to get a military-training bill through Congress now and have told the various citizens' committees organized to back the proposal to hold their fire until the smoke of the work-or-fight mêlée has lifted somewhat. But the ammunition is being stockpiled for a new barrage, due to start about the middle of April. The opposition, sensing this, is getting in its own counter-battery work before H hour.

Surveying the scrambled and furious scene with the typically jaundiced eye the ex-service man reserves for civilian foolishness, this veteran is not sure which of the opponents he regards with more disfavor. Such roarings about "teaching men to brush their teeth"! Such counter-roarings about "showing the rest of the world we have no faith in Dumbarton Oaks"! All nonsense, friends. I submit that the only relevant issue is: will the proposal contribute to the future security of the United States?

FEW BENEFITS ON THE SIDE

Friends of universal military training make much of the subsidiary benefits to be derived, and thereby, it seems to me, weaken their chief argument. The training is supposed to contribute to the nation's health, provide discipline for the wayward young, absorb a large number of "the unemployed" every year, mold character, develop better citizens, and heighten democracy and tolerance among racial, religious, economic, social, and sectional groups of the nation. In short, a year in the army will do all the wise and good things which the home, the school, the church, and the community have been trying to do for some centuries without astounding success.

The health argument can be fairly readily dismissed. A year of hard physical work in the open air naturally makes almost anyone pretty rugged, but by age eighteen fundamental defects in health are generally there to stay. Military training can't cure basic defects springing from poor diet, bad housing, or lack of medical attention. To be sure, a yearly reminder from army doctors that 40 per cent of the nation's man-power is physically unqualified for military training might jar us eventually into a program for raising our health standards, but there must be a cheaper way of doing it.

As for discipline, the army variety is most transitory in its effects and is more likely than not to produce a reaction against any form of discipline—I know a veteran of the last war who won't stand in line for a movie to this day, and I find myself baring my fangs when anyone speaks to me peremptorily. The army system is the reverse of self-discipline, encourages gold-bricking and cheating on the boss, and is essentially anti-democratic.

The half-veiled promise of mopping up the unemployed by throwing them into uniform is the best example extant of the poverty-stricken imagination; as Hanson Baldwin says in the current *Harper's*, "it is the very argument that Hitler used; it is the apologia and last resource of a government which has failed to solve its domestic problems."

The argument that military training molds character and develops better citizens is subject in general to the same objections as the argument based on discipline. In the past few months I've read a great many letters on the subject of conscription from service men overseas, responding to a request from the American Veterans' Committee; and the men are pretty definite in minimizing these particular advantages. One writes: "I object to the continued demoralization of youth. I have seen enough of it already: boys too young to shave gambling and drinking, developing a vocabulary generously embellished with cheap, vulgar, and lewd terms, boys learning first hand about venereal diseases from girls neglected and degraded by their own people. Is there any reason

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to expect the program to be other than this?" The man is obviously a puritan, but his sermon has its validity. Others object that the army doesn't develop real self-reliance, but so limits the areas of the men's authority as to discourage them from thinking for themselves; this, to be sure, varies enormously, depending on the branch of service, the individual's job, and the character of his commanding officer. The peacetime tradition of West Point and Annapolis emphasizes saying yes to one's superiors; it tends to deaden originality, research, criticism, and the inquiring mind. Transmitted to trainees, this might in a year develop a certain firmness of mind and character, but it could never contribute toward forming the bold, free, and questing citizen we like to think typically American.

As for the heightening of democracy and tolerance, it is true that greater understanding of other men is hard to escape in the army, although I've known men who could do it. I judge the experience as a whole to be a valuable training in democracy, but its influence is strongest on men under fire, where one quickly learns that shells are not choosy about skin color or the church a buddy attends. It is not so effective in quiet rear areas. Again, the fact that an army year may teach men some rudiments of democratic life is not a truly relevant argument in favor of conscription; but to tell the story fairly I'll quote another soldier's list of "factors which have broadened my mental horizon (I hope)":

> Living in a different section of the United States. Learning, through trial and error, how to fit into a community, how to gain the respect and friendship of people outside your own walk of life. . . . Living and working with a fair cross-section of the people of the United States. Realizing the complexity of large undertakings of management, and the influence of the "human element" on the efficiency of operations involving large numbers of people.

TRAINED RESERVES MEAN NATIONAL SECURITY

Having decided that a year in the army is primarily useful as training for another year in the army, let us now attempt a small demolition of the side-car arguments of those who oppose universal military training. They say conscription never prevented a war; that a professional force can handle any trouble, at least until we get into a major war, when our great man-power and industrial resources will spring into action; that present weapons will be obsolete, and the first trainees too old; that we must wait to see what our international commitments will be; that enactment of legislation now would serve notice on the world that we had no faith in international cooperation; that we would develop a ruling military caste; and that we should wait till the boys come home before deciding.

True, conscription alone has prevented no wars. No one contemplates conscription alone: it is to be linked to a general system of collective security, in which aggressive steps must be taken to prevent wars from happening. The argument to me represents the worst kind of hangover in liberal thinking from the bad days between the wars when we thought that the way to avoid fighting was to be unprepared to fight. Indeed, the most damaging criticism to be made of the opposition is that most of the statements now issued against military training could equally well have been issued in 1920 or 1936. The reverse argument, I believe, can be shown to be true; Commander Stassen put it well at Minneapolis when he said:

> We ourselves should remain strong. . . . We should do this to fulfil the police-force responsibility which will be ours in enforcing and supporting the world code of justice and the United Nations organization. . . . We should make it plain that much as we want peace we will fight again and will fight anyone who basically violates world justice. . . . This position, I am convinced, is more likely to maintain peace than an announced policy of making ourselves weak and of not fighting, even though provoked.

Now it is also true that the professional force—a navy requiring perhaps half a million men, an army striking force of perhaps a quarter-million (with another 150,000 or so to train the draftees), and army air forces of perhaps half a million—will be the first line of defense, sufficient also to squelch aggression under United Nations direction. If this is all that is ever required, we can praise the Lord. But it is the function of the nation's military leaders to plan for the worst possible contingency—namely, a big war, waged at some indeterminate date and for causes not now at all clear, against another major power or combination of major powers. It would be folly, for instance, for the Combined Chiefs of Staff to overlook the possibility that American commercial aggression in foreign trade and airlines might involve us in explosive economic warfare with one or more of our present allies; or that we might export unemployment, causing worldwide economic chaos, always an incentive to war; or that either England or Russia might some day seek to strengthen Germany against the other, which would inevitably draw us in when the conflict came. These are not pretty thoughts, but they must be the thoughts of the strategists: and in a world where the single most important element in foreign policy is the enormous potential of the rocket bomb and the stratospheric bomb- or troop-carrying aircraft, one can afford to think in nothing less than strategic terms.

In these terms, the case for conscription is, I think, made clear. Trained reserves are the nation's eventual security in modern war, and our relatively small professional army might be decimated in the first week of any future war. One soldier writes:

> We need the reserves to back up our initial action against any threat to the peace, should our first blow fail. As we learned to our sorrow in this war, the sooner an aggressor is smashed, the less is the cost in men, materials, and unhappiness. And the existence of these reserves—*and of the draft as an official policy*—will serve notice to the world that we intend to back up our peace policy if necessary.

Another says:

> It would seem to be a contradiction emerging from this war, truly a war of liberation, that an intricate and powerful armed coalition be available at all times to remove any threat of aggression. . . . I cannot consider it as such, for the matter of rocket bombs, jet-propulsion planes, and super-super air fortresses—plus the projected economic expansion on a worldwide scale, calling for industrialization of the backward nations in South America, Africa, and Asia—will completely alter the structure of world politics. Just the matter of rocket bombs alone must qualitatively change political thinking on a world scale.

Present weapons will indeed become obsolete, but this is not vital. Thorough basic training not only teaches soldiering but familiarizes a man with the family of weapons he

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may be called upon to use, and a year's training will produce many specialists whose skills can be brought back to a fine pitch in comparatively short order. The men who train immediately after this war will be too old to go into the front lines of any foreseeable war, but it takes eight men in the rear to keep one man fighting, and again the establishment of the basic draft policy is the major consideration.

As for waiting to see what our international commitments will be, it would appear that this is the very reason for establishing a system of training soon. We at least know that we are in for deeply troubled times, during which it will be prudent to be strong. The same logic knocks out the argument that such legislation would show the world our lack of faith in international cooperation—an argument which may be classified with the charge that a man who takes out fire insurance on his house must be an arsonist. A demonstration of our preparedness to use force on the world scene would convince our anxious friends—and enemies—that we have joined the world and abjured isolationism. I can't see every other nation asking whom we are preparing this army against, for no other nation is going to disarm itself in these times. We should, in the first instance and until the world organization is a tested concern more firmly embodying the machinery for administering justice, work toward a *minimum* basis of armaments, and only later a *maximum*.

The objection that we shall thus develop a ruling military caste is best overruled, as Irving Lipkowitz pointed out in a recent issue of this magazine, by the very guaranties implicit in a *universal,* and therefore a *citizens',* army. If we choose a professional army, if we leave our military affairs in the hands of West Pointers, then we may indeed breed a ruling military caste. By choosing a citizens' army we attain a certain element of democratizing flux and flow through its otherwise slowly hardening arteries. Further, we teach our citizens to know the army life, therefore to love peace and even to work for it. "Any G. I. will tell you that to really hate the army you have to be in it a while," a soldier writes. "This war has created the strongest anti-militarists we shall ever see—and the peace-time draft would keep up the good work." In a democracy the army is the instrument of policy, not the maker of policy.

Finally, it is objected that we should wait until the fighting men come home. The response to the American Veterans' Committee's question overrules the objection; a large majority of the answers favored universal military training. Having suffered bloodshed and boredom at least partly because their country was not prepared to fight, the soldiers feel that one of the important factors that will help us to avoid another war is to be ready to fight it.

It seems to me that the proponents of the measure have not yet made these matters clear. Their insistence on dubious secondary benefits is misleading and weakens their case; the apparent anxiety of the military leaders to avoid debate and opposition is bad thinking, and gives weight to the argument that they are authoritarian and anti-democratic. I believe that the opponents of universal military training are largely living in a dream world, but I hope they will be brought to see the realities by a frank presentation of the issues, not brushed aside with foolish urgings that "the army wants it so you'd better accept it." If reasonable arguments are used, a large majority of our citizens should come to take an alert interest in matters of national defense and to insist upon a program which would embrace a highly skilled, mobile striking force engaged in extensive maneuvers and the development of new tactics, intensive research into new weapons, and a universally drafted body of reserves to provide a firm foundation for enforcing peace.

In the Wind

THE LEGISLATURE of South Carolina, in revising the salary schedules of public schools, has required recertification of all teachers "in order to avoid any possible discrimination between races." . . . On the other hand, the city council of Columbia, South Carolina, on March 13 unanimously rejected a proposal to put Negro policemen in Negro districts.

NEW YORK NOTES: You can safely take your wife or sister to the Roxy Theater. The song "Rum and Coca-Cola," as currently sung on the stage there, has been de-alcoholized to "Lime and Coca-Cola." . . . Bickford's, a chain of cafeterias, has placed the following sign on every table: "Gentlemen, please remove your hats. You can help us create an atmosphere which will attract some very desirable lady customers."

"POPS PIUS today received General Brunetto Brunetti . . ." (New York *Times* of March 11). We know there's a movement to make the Holy Father an American institution, but is this a sufficiently dignified way of promoting it?

SPOKESMEN of the undertaking business in West Virginia conferred with Representative Cleveland M. Bailey at Clarksburg on March 5 and asked him to try to have the War Production Board release larger quantities of cloth for lining caskets. The Clarksburg *News* reports that they put it to their Congressman this way: "Shall we have caskets properly lined to give our dead here decent burials or shall we send the material to other countries to clothe the living?"

RALPH SMITH, an advertising man, defended radio commercials in a letter to the New York *Times* of March 11 thus: "We have found that nobody relieved of a stomach ache by a remedy purchased through a radio commercial ever complains about them. . . . Persons who complain about commercials are, as a rule, disgustingly healthy."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Nazi sentries in front of certain German-occupied buildings in Copenhagen have recently been supplied with steel screens, behind which they stand. One of these sentries was recently surprised by the smiles he got from Copenhageners who passed him. Finally he stepped out in front of the screen and discovered that a sign had been attached to it. The sign read: "He has no pants."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Fascist Bridgehead in Bolivia

BY JOHN W. WHITE

THE reorganization of the Bolivian Cabinet to make room for three more ministers from the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (M. N. R.), the closest counterpart of the Third Reich's National Socialist Party that any South American country has produced, completes the worst double-cross the United States Department of State has suffered in recent years. The double-cross has the virtue, however, of making impossible any further wishful thinking about the nature of the Villarroel regime at La Paz. Bolivia is now the second out-and-out pro-Nazi, anti-*Yanqui,* anti-Semitic, anti-capitalist nation in South America; it has even outstripped the Argentine under the Farrell-Perón team, from which it received its original inspiration and tutoring.

The bridgehead established at Buenos Aires in June, 1943, to make South America safe for Nazi-fascist ideology when it is overthrown in Europe has thus been consolidated into a fourteen-hundred-mile salient driven deep into the heart of the continent, where it presents a serious threat to Chile and Peru. With Paraguay already sucked into the Nazi orbit through a puppet government that takes its orders from Buenos Aires, Hitler's agents in Argentina can b ast honestly, as they probably do, that they have acquired control over 24 per cent of the territory and 20 per cent of the population of South America.

When Ambassador Avra Warren went to La Paz last May to survey the situation for the State Department, he made it clear to Major Gualberto Villarroel that his dé facto regime would not be recognized by the United States or many of the other American republics until it had purged itself of its pro-Nazi elements, beginning with the clever young Minister of Finance, Victor Paz Estenssoro, recognized Führer of the M. N. R. Paz Estenssoro and the others who were objectionable to Washington were "purged" by being permitted to resign from the Cabinet and set themselves up as candidates for election to Congress. Political leaders in Bolivia who should know what they are talking about say that Villarroel assured Ambassador Warren that not more than 40 members of the M. N. R. would be among the 109 men elected to the new Chamber of Deputies.

Other promises which Villarroel offered in exchange for recognition were the delivery to the United States of the more notorious of the German and Japanese agents operating in Bolivia, general amnesty for political prisoners, early and honest elections, the nationalization of Axis firms, and cessation of the shipment of rubber and tin to Argentina in violation of Bolivia's contracts to sell its entire output of those commodities to the United States. In reliable diplomatic circles in South America it is reported that Villarroel also was required to give a promise not to molest Bolivia's 60,000 Jewish refugees, whose persecution was one of the announced objectives of the M. N. R. and the military clique of young officers who are supporting the regime.

The German and Japanese agents were surrendered and taken to United States prison camps. Most of the other promises were either not kept at all or kept in ways that were farcical. A great to-do was made, for example, over the release of José Antonio Arze, leader of the largest opposition party, the Partido de Izquierda Revolucionario, who had been jailed soon after he returned from exile. But when it was found that he had been elected to Congress, an attempt was made to assassinate him and he had to return to the United States.

Villarroel insisted that in return for his unsecured promises his provisional government be recognized before the elections instead of after, as had been suggested by several of the South American governments, including Chile. He won his point, and the State Department formally extended diplomatic recognition just a month before the elections of July 2 last.

When the ballots were counted, it was found that seventy instead of forty of the new Congressmen were members of the M. N. R., which gave Villarroel's party a clear majority. This majority was necessary if Villarroel was to be elected constitutional President, since in Bolivian electoral practice the President and Vice-President are chosen by Congress. All the "purged" pro-Nazi leaders were elected, and as members of Congress continued to exert control over Villarroel. Paz Estenssoro went to the Senate.

Within six months after the July elections the M. N. R. had become so powerful that Villarroel was obliged to choose between taking the "objectionables" back into the Cabinet or stepping down himself. So Washington's *bête noire,* Victor Paz Estenssoro, is again in the government, and the entire setup is exactly as it was when the State Department refused to recognize it. There never has been any question that the M. N. R. leaders are pro-Nazi, anti-*Yanqui,* and closely in touch with Argentine nationalist leaders and Hitler agents at Buenos Aires. The only question has been whether they should have a place in the La Paz government. Washington said no; the M. N. R. said yes. At the present writing the M. N. R. is two up on Washington.

Bolivia's Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario deserves the careful attention of anyone who is interested in the machinery by which Nazi ideology is being transplanted to the Western Hemisphere while we are risking millions of lives and spending billions of dollars to uproot it in Europe. During the Chaco War (1932-35) the youth of Bolivia awoke to the necessity of seeking solutions for the country's many pressing problems. For years the government posts had rotated among the same group of men, leaders of the self-constituted governing class. Successive governments had promoted railroad construction and other expensive public works which yielded an enormous amount of graft to the authorities. They had paid no attention to the more urgent but less profitable needs of the people, such as the incorporation of the enormous Indian population into the national life, the im-

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CONFIRMATION

In an article published in the last issue of The Nation, *"V-Day and Revolution," we said that the presence of Allied troops in the liberated countries has often prevented existing leftist tendencies from being fully demonstrated. The situation, we said, will change, to the benefit of the progressive forces, once Allied armies withdraw and leave to the European peoples the solution of European problems. Our theory is confirmed by Marquis W. Childs, who, writing from Rome in the New York* Post *of March 14, reports: "The recent escape of General Roatta, former Chief of Staff under the Fascist regime, and the violence that followed are evidence, on the one hand, of the weakness of the government and, on the other, of the unrest that is close beneath the surface of the country.* The government could not cope with the situation but for the presence of Allied troops." [*Emphasis ours.*]

migration of skilled laborers and farmers, industrialization, reduction of the appalling infant death rate, the cleaning up of malaria, and a general public-health program.

After the war the returning soldiers united with organizations of university students and other youth movements to form several socialist groups dedicated to the improvement of social conditions. These socialist youth movements became strong enough to overthrow President Tejada Sorzano in May, 1936, and the military government of Colonel Toro in July, 1937, and of Colonel Germán Busch in August, 1939. But they had no political tradition behind them, were not properly organized as a national party, and had no coherent program of government after they came to power. They had no trouble in electing Germán Busch President in May, 1938, but were unable to control him for the achievement of their social objectives. A year after his election Busch defied the young socialists and the other political parties and set himself up as a dictator.

It was after the overthrow of Busch and during the provisional presidency of General Quintanilla (August, 1939, to April, 1940) that Bolivia's young socialists became ardent admirers of the Nazis and developed ideas which led to the creation of the M. N. R. and the present pro-Nazi setup at La Paz. General Quintanilla devoted his brief provisional term to preparing the country for the presidential elections of March, 1940, in which there were two candidates—General Peñaranda, representing the old traditional parties, which had banded together as rightists, and José Antonio Arze, representing the leftists. The young veterans of the Chaco War joined the rightists and elected Peñaranda. They had been tremendously impressed by the sweeping military victories of the Nazis in Europe. And they believed that the strongly nationalist doctrines of the Nazis in Germany and the Fascists in Italy were just what was needed in Bolivia. In this belief they began to combine the various existing nationalistic groups in what since June, 1942, has been known as the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario.

The organization, the program, and the political methods of the movement are almost identical with those of the Nazi Party. The close relations between the leaders of the movement and the German legation at La Paz were revealed in the State Department's memorandum to the South and Central American governments urging the non-recognition of the Villarroel government.

Nazi influence is also strong in the young officers' movement which grew up after the close of the Chaco War. Feeling the same urge to face and solve the nation's problems, the returning officers organized themselves into several secret lodges. Many of the younger members were sent to Germany and Italy to complete their military studies and returned imbued with Nazi and Fascist ideology. When the Bolivian War College was founded in January, 1939, these converts were enrolled in the first classes. By the middle of 1943, when President Peñaranda began to totter, most of them had become majors. At the War College they had studied political and international law, finance, and government, and they felt themselves capable of governing the country better than the politicians. They merged their lodges into a single unit, known as the Mariscal Santa Cruz Lodge, and plotted the overthrow of Peñaranda on December 20, 1943.

When the military plot was complete, the majors of the Santa Cruz lodge found that in order to keep the revolution in power they would have to have the support of a political party. So they invited the M. N. R. to take part in the revolt. After Peñaranda had been overthrown, the important positions in the government and the army were distributed among the majors of the Santa Cruz Lodge and the leaders of the M. N. R. The officers became so occupied with their new duties that they had no time for the lodge, and Santa Cruz ceased to exist about March, 1944.

Resenting the way the government plums were monopolized by the majors, a younger generation of captains and lieutenants who had been admitted to membership in the Santa Cruz Lodge now organized a new lodge, called the Ingavi, which has become one of the most powerful forces in the present situation in Bolivia. Ingavi officers run the police department, the detective bureau, and the traffic bureau, and also are in control of most of the army regiments. Neither the M. N. R. nor the majors are strong enough to defy Ingavi, nor could they long remain in power without its support.

Ingavi is accused of responsibility for the present reign of terror in Bolivia. It was Ingavi which kidnaped and tortured the Jewish tin-mine owner, Maurice Hochschild. Both the M. N. R. and Ingavi have threatened to clear the Jews out of Bolivia. Paz Estenssoro, the recognized brains of the M. N. R., is a notorious Jew-baiter.

It is generally agreed that Victor Paz Estenssoro is the man to be watched in the Bolivian situation. Members of the M. N. R. refer to him as *El Jefe*, the Spanish equivalent of Führer. He is a smart economist and shrewd politician, with strong presidential ambitions. He has long been in close contact with Hitler agents at Buenos Aires and was a bitter opponent of Peñaranda's cooperation with the war effort of the United States. His position in the Bolivian government is very similar to that of his close friend, Colonel Juan D. Perón, in Argentina.

Diplomatic observers at La Paz have reported that President Villarroel is virtually a prisoner of Ingavi and the M. N. R., the leaders of which permit him to carry on the

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routine administrative duties of the presidency but dictate to him on all matters of policy, internal as well as international. It would not surprise some of these observers if Villarroel should be forced out of the presidency eventually and his place taken by Paz Estenssoro.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

AN ADMINISTRATIVE official was to be appointed in a rural district near Aachen, a sort of liaison man between the inhabitants and the American authorities. The district has always been Catholic—it came under Prussian control after the Napoleonic wars—and the four hundred peasants who stayed after the retreat of the German armies had defied the express command of the party. They could certainly not be considered fanatical Hitlerites. On the contrary, almost all showed disgust and resentment in speaking of the party which had brought so much unhappiness to the country. The American authorities decided, therefore, to let the people choose the man whom they considered best fitted for the post. For the first time in many years the principle of democracy was to be applied in one tiny little part of Germany.

The four hundred peasants were gathered together in Aachen in the ruins of a former hall to cast their ballots. The result was an almost unanimous vote for Farmer X. That was fine—until it came out that Farmer X had held office under the Nazis and was therefore inacceptable to the American authorities. Another election was then held, and the voters obediently chose someone else. They remained of the opinion, however, that Herr X was the best man for the position. And they could not see that it made any real difference whether or not he had held a Nazi office. Of course, they said, they would not have voted for one of the higher Nazis or for any bully from the Gestapo. But X was not a "*richtiger* Nazi." What did it matter if he had been used by the Nazis?

I have related the incident because it throws light on the chief difficulty that will be encountered in setting up an administration in Germany purged of Nazis. New German areas are constantly being occupied. Conditions are desperate everywhere, and it is urgently necessary to organize a new administration as quickly as possible. Allied personnel can furnish no more than the skeleton. Unquestionably most of the officials will have to be Germans, and it is generally agreed that no Nazis shall be used. But what is a Nazi? How can the Allies determine who is a Nazi and who is not?

The difficulty is very real. For the actual situation is not at all what many people naively imagine. Germans do not fall neatly into two categories—Nazis and non-Nazis. The great mass of Germans, let us say 95 per cent, were in fact both Nazi and non-Nazi at the same time—in every possible degree and gradation and mixture. And furthermore there are practically no outward criteria by which they can be reliably sorted out. Yet it is from this 95 per cent that the Allies must select their administrative personnel.

In the tiny minority outside this 95 per cent there are undoubtedly some uncompromising anti-Nazis, people who have always, as believers in democracy and in peace, been against the regime. Since an organized German underground has never existed—all accounts of it were pure fiction—it will be pretty hard to find out who belonged to this honorable order. And unfortunately not many persons of this group can be supposed to be still alive—however many there were once. Occasionally individuals will turn up who can prove their claims, and of course the Allied authorities should make every possible use of them. There are also persons who can be classified as total Nazis, who in every respect are the embodiment of the Nazi doctrine. Among these are the several thousand officials at the top of the Nazi hierarchy, all members of the Gestapo, and all members of the Nazi Party who joined it voluntarily, that is, before 1933. The criteria by which they can be known are relatively simple, and certainly they should be absolutely barred from the new administration.

Membership in the party does not really prove anything, for from 1933 on hundreds of thousands were forced to join. Nor does the fact that a man held office in some Nazi organization mean much, for that too was often a matter of compulsion. Without any question every single German belonged to one or more of the countless Nazi organizations and discharged the duties required of him. Every German had one or more Nazi membership cards in his pocket. That fact does not prove that he was a Nazi at heart. But neither does the fact that he was compelled to become a member prove that in his heart he was not a Nazi.

As a result of all this, the distinction between a "Nazi" and a "non-Nazi" became less and less important in the mind of the people. The dividing line was still further obliterated by the war, which all Germans experienced together as Germans, more closely united than ever, in the exaltation of victory as in the misery of defeat. The word "Nazi" is not heard less often in Germany than formerly, but when it is used it refers to Hitler, or Himmler, the bigwigs, the Gauleiters, or the Gestapo. It is not applied to neighbors, to employees in the rationing office, to the postman or the traffic policeman at the corner. Such people are not criticized for being Nazis—if they are just ordinary Nazis, they are normal types. They are criticized only if they are "*Nazi-Schweine*"—defiant, evil exaggerations of the norm. That seems to be the criterion used today.

I don't believe the Allied administration will be able to judge people by any other standard. With 95 per cent of the population former Nazis—though of all possible degrees and shades—the Allied authorities will be able to avoid the use of exaggerated, defiant, evil Nazis but not of ordinary Nazis. And that such a limit must be set to the purging of the administration is less of a misfortune than it may seem. No one should have the illusion that the Germans who accept posts in the government set up by the Allies are, in their innermost hidden feelings, anything but anti-Ally. If the foreigners at the top of the new bureaucratic hierarchy show any weakness, if they are unequal to their task, the Germans in the lower ranks will snipe at them on every possible occasion. No method of selection will alter that fact. On the other hand, if the Allied administrators prove strong and efficient, they will be obeyed to the dot—even by former Nazis, or rather especially by them.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I ONCE WROTE a series of articles showing up columnists. Now I've become a columnist; and I'm looking forward to the day when I shall be included in a series showing up columnists.

This week I am confronted with the occupational problem of columnists—what to write about. I had fondly hoped that, like other practitioners, I should have become so well conditioned to being a columnist by the time I met the problem that I wouldn't recognize it.

As a matter of fact, I do have things to write about—a list neatly inscribed in a notebook. There are even some things I feel I "ought" to write about. Which reminds me of a remark of Joseph Wood Krutch's when he heard me say that we ought to review a certain dull book because it was "up our street." He said it might be a good idea to move to another street.

My real trouble this week is that I have spring fever, which I caught from spending an afternoon in the sun. I was merely sitting on a bench in a park beside the Hudson near the George Washington Bridge. But the jut of land seemed like the prow of a great vessel. I had to leave, unfortunately, before it sailed.

I think I shall surrender to the season and content myself with a few minor notes, or notes for notes.

ITEM: The behavior of most dispensers of cigarettes is becoming unbearable. It just shows what even a little power can do to the human ego. I hate the look in the eyes of the man who tells you he has no cigarettes when you know very well that he has but that you are not to be favored. And the worst thing about the encounter is your own willingness to appease the liar for the sake of a few cheroots.

ITEM: In the January issue of *Horizon* John Lehmann protested against the statement in an earlier issue implying that books published in England during the war compared unfavorably with the French production. To prove his point he gave a partial list of English books. I must say it's impressive and far richer than anyone might have expected it to be.

Cyril Connolly, by the way, has been in Paris, and some of his reports will appear in *The Nation*. . . . Another English journalist who has been in France mailed an article from Paris which arrived here uncensored. He had written on the envelope waggishly, "Censored by [his own name]." Apparently the real censors took him at his word.

ITEM: Somebody ought to do a piece comparing the excitement and division among intellectuals in England during the generation after the French Revolution with the effect in our own time of the course of events since the Russian Revolution of 1917. Not long ago I picked up Edward Dowden's life of Robert Southey in the English Men of Letters series and was much struck by the parallels. I quote:

> The rough draft of "Joan" was hardly laid aside [this was in 1803] when Southey's sympathies with the revolutionary movement in France, strained already to the utmost point of tension, were fatally rent. All his faith, all his hope, were given to the Girondin Party, and from the Girondins he had singled out Brissot as his ideal of political courage, purity, and wisdom. . . . But now the Girondins . . . were in the death carts . . . and Brissot was among the martyrs. Probably no other public event so deeply affected Southey.

Southey was an anti-Napoleonist. "I did not fall into the error," he wrote in 1809, "of those who, having been the friends of France when they imagined that the cause of liberty was implicated in her success, transferred their attachment from the Republic to the Military Tyranny in which it ended, and regarded with complacency the progress of oppression because France was the oppressor."

There was a Spanish question. "Since the stirring day of the French Revolution," said Southey, "I have never felt half so much excitement in political events as the present state of Spain has given me." What Southey ardently desired, according to Dowden, was "a federal republic which should unite the Peninsula, and allow the internal governments to remain distinct."

And there was Greece.

Of course all parallels break down. But they are interesting none the less, if only because they prove that everything has happened before—but never in the same way.

ITEM: *Harper's* reprinted in its February issue excerpts—text and pictures—from a book called "Old Homes Made New" by William M. Woollett, which was published in New York in 1878. The views before and after alteration show with what success a fine colonial house could be turned into gingerbread.

"This house," says Mr. Woollett in gingerbread prose, "was found to be a substantial brick edifice. . . . On the exterior, the plan being rectangular, the effort to overcome this has been made by the breaking up of the features of the roof, and in conjunction with the brickwork, wood and shingle work have been freely introduced. . . . The introduction of new piazzas on the front and rear gives breadth to the exterior. A bay at the end of the hallway over the piazza and balcony formed in front of same; and balcony canopied, again corbeled out over the bay, help to remove this center gable from the ordinary. The chimney at the end of the bay is carried up full height with a portion of the gable on the side brought out to meet and support it, supplying at the same time a cover to the balcony over the bay."

You get the idea. But you should see the pictures.

ITEM: Here is something new in complaints. A landlord called up during a party to complain that one of the guests, on the way downstairs, had barked at his dog.

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THE INTERIOR VOYAGE

BY PAUL ROSENFELD

THE old feeling that "one person has written all the books" may be renewed in wondering readers of Kenneth Patchen's "The Journal of Albion Moonlight," which recently has been reprinted (United Book Guild, $3). Though in mood the volume is singularly inhuman, in method and symbol mysteriously it resembles a small group of lovely and infrequently noticed pieces of literature, some of which are centuries old. All were by Frenchmen excepting one which was by an American of French descent who lived in France, and there is nothing in "Albion Moonlight" to suggest that Patchen was familiar with any of them when he wrote his book.

They were given the generic name of The Interior Voyage by the critic Albert Thibaudet in 1920. The occasion was an arrival in their thin rank, that of "Suzanne and the Pacific" by the late and lamented Jean Giraudoux. The method in all of them is that of a Log or Voyage; the symbols are incidents of travel through an unfolding landscape—which in one case is that of a walled garden, in another that of a tropical island, in a third that of a many-colored archipelago and an ocean stretching toward the Pole. The incidents are arranged along the lines of unverifiable experience, and somewhere in each book its author's voice is heard declaring that the journey is his dream or imagining. He marks his fiction thus as a piece of self-reflection. Indeed, the scenes and details, the personages and their adventures are allegories or symbols of the interior life and its impulses, objects, and conflicts. The Voyages are the upshots of combinations of the motives of romantic fantasy and exclusive self-reflection.

According to Thibaudet, the classic specimen of the Interior Voyage is the sweet thirteenth-century poem which Chaucer paraphrased in part and Spenser studied, "The Romance of the Rose"; at least the portion of it which was composed by Guillaume de Lorris, a clerk of Orléans. In the "Romance" it is May, and the dreamer's self approaches a garden whose wall is painted with effigies of the shabby attitudes. A damsel called Idleness opens a secret door to him. Inside the garden there are trees, bird song, water in springs and brooks, and the dance of the company of a beautiful lord and lady called Mirth and Gladness. The dreamer's "I" passes the pool fatal to Narcissus and finds a bush of roses "dyed with rich deep crimson hue" and on it a queen rose. Masculine personages urge him to pluck the flower, while feminine ones seek variously to stay him. One of the feminine locks one of the masculine personages in a tower. The "I" exhales his grief in a monologue—in the midst of which the De Lorris section of the "Romance" ends. Jean Clopinel, a student of Paris, later continued it in a social-satirical, anti-ecclesiastic spirit.

Imitations of "The Romance of the Rose" abounded for two centuries; then before 1900 certain French symbolists unconsciously resumed its method and symbols in their effort to mirror the psyche and her complex contents. Across the Channel "The Romance of the Rose" was retranslated into English verse. Among the new Interior Voyages was "The Ride of Yeldis" by Vielé-Griffin, a narrative poem whose rapidity of motion has caused it to be considered the best

BLACK BOY

"If enough such books are written, if enough millions of people read them, maybe, someday, there will be a greater understanding and a more true democracy."
—ORVILLE PRESCOTT, *New York Times*

". . . one of the most revealing documents I have read in a long time. Mr. Wright, so far as I know, has done what nobody has done before. He has told the truth about the Negro, and, along with this, what the Negro thinks about the white man's world. This quality of truth, absolute and uncompromising, runs through his book like a charge of electricity; reading it is not unlike taking hold of a high-tension wire . . . It comes out of life, it is a part of life, and it lets a light into places that have not seen this kind of light before."
—HAMILTON BASSO, *The New Yorker*

"It should be read word for passionate word."—STERLING NORTH, *New York Post*

"In turning the leaves of his life, Richard Wright has turned many a bitter page of America's chronicle . . . He shows us again here the power of prose, the warm, urgent use of word and phrase that made us recognize his great talent as a writer in *Native Son*."—LILLIAN SMITH, *PM*

"A triumphant gain . . . *Black Boy* is the fulfilment of the knowledge and power that was intermittent in *Native Son* and the stories in *Uncle Tom's Children*."
—*The New Republic*

By the author of NATIVE SON

RICHARD WRIGHT

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piece by this American constituent of the French movement. The radiant Yeldis rides to a new country on the death of her father, "gloved in violet," followed by her five various lovers. The poet's "I" is in the cavalcade. One rider drops aside, another dies, a third inquires, "Whither leads the way?" a fourth bears Yeldis off. The solitary poet confesses there exists no lovely thing "that is not loved by him in Her." The Poet's attitude toward "his Muse, his Love, his Life," it has been called. The very symbolistic attitude and an adieu to this attitude became the substance of another of the little species, Gide's purple "Voyage of Urien." A band of shadowy young mystics sail in the previous book from magic island to island, retained by nothing, by the song of the Sirens no more than by the gardens of the Queens. Their ship is paralyzed in a Sargasso Sea, and they wander toward the icy Pole, only to realize that they have not traveled. The extended prose poem gives the state of those who are prevented from acting by habitual self-contemplation.

That post-World War Voyage which moved Thibaudet to his definition, "Suzanne and the Pacific," wittily, humorously, playfully reflects inner self-sufficiency and contentment. Its principal symbol, a tiny coral island, is a tranquil spot inhabited by fabulous birds and a castaway college girl clad in feathers. Man temporarily troubles it, Man who is revealed by the intrusive World War in the form of floating corpses. But Suzanne vanquishes "the demons of Oceania"—fears and egoism. In "Albion Moonlight" there are references to Apollo in the names of certain of the persons—Delian, Carol, Chrystle. The diary portrays a soul's unsuccessful search for its faith. The unrolling landscape is dismal and anarchic and identified as the United States. Because of its universal blasphemy and its facility one hesitates to associate this book with the finer Interior Voyages. Besides, plainly it exhibits the weaknesses of the genre stressed by the scholar Gaston Paris in writing about the offshoots of "The Romance of the Rose." "This new kind of mythology," he wrote, "personified the transitory and evanescent dispositions of the individual rather more than his universal deep-seated ones—and dispensed poets from observing, almost from thinking." Still we cannot ignore the wry humor and pathos in Patchen's lyric flux and chains of images, or his proof of his craftsmanship. Without doubt his Voyage conveys the mood of many persons who were green before Pearl Harbor.

The Chinese Communists

REPORT FROM RED CHINA. By Harrison Forman. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

IN THE early days of China's war against Japan several highly enthusiastic accounts of the exploits of the Chinese Red Army were published in this country. But in recent years considerably less has been heard of the military and political achievements of the Communists of China's Northwest. Chungking propagandists have hinted that this was because the Red Army was no longer fighting the Japanese. Rumors were circulated to the effect that writers like Edgar Snow, Colonel Evans Carlson, and Agnes Smedley were so partisan that their accounts had to be taken with a substantial measure of salt. It was difficult to refute these allegations because the Chungking government refused to permit any accredited journalists or foreign government representatives to visit the Communist areas. This ironclad blockade was finally broken last summer when a small party of American, British, and Chinese correspondents visited the Border Region. Harrison Forman, who made the trip representing the New York *Herald Tribune*, has recorded his experiences in a notable book that should be read by everyone interested in the dramatic developments now taking place in China.

The Kuomintang authorities in Chungking had always assured the correspondents that the stories that the Border Region was being blockaded were Communist propaganda. But Mr. Forman found that as his party approached the Communist areas no effort was made to deny the existence of the blockade. The blockhouses which surrounded the region were too real to be ignored. Instead, the local Kuomintang officials sought to divert the group's attention by elaborate entertainment, and arranged meetings with "refugees" from the Red areas who told lurid tales of Communist outrages. These elaborate precautions backfired, however, when some of the alleged "refugees" managed to get word to the correspondents secretly that the stories had been manufactured out of whole cloth especially for their benefit.

When the correspondents' party finally arrived at Yenan after having been carefully shepherded along a devious route, they were immediately impressed by the appearance of the population. Soldiers and civilians alike were quite obviously better fed and better clothed than in any of the sections of Kuomintang China that had been visited. This was surprising in view of the rigid blockade which Chungking had maintained since 1939 and the fact that the area had been, until within the past two or three years, one of the most desolate and impoverished of all China. The transformation had been accomplished by a carefully planned "Production Movement" which put everyone in the region to work—soldiers, officials, merchants, and even habitual loafers —reclaiming vast stretches of barren wasteland, much of which had not been cultivated for centuries. At the same time scores of primitive factories were set up, largely on a cooperative basis, for making essential civilian and military supplies. As a result the area had not only attained virtual self-sufficiency but had reached a level of living in war time that was far above what it had enjoyed in peace time.

The tales of Red terror which he heard in Chungking and on his journey to the Border Region made Mr. Forman particularly eager to assess the political characteristics of Chinese communism. His experiences in the villages, with the army, and at public meetings at Yenan and elsewhere convinced him that the Kungchantang is not Communist in the Soviet sense at all, but is a peculiarly Chinese movement reminiscent of Jeffersonian democracy in nineteenth-century America. Instead of attempting to set up a dictatorship, the Chinese Communists have consciously sought to develop self-government in the villages and country districts, and have invariably limited the Communist representation on governing bodies to one-third the total membership. When asked why the party persists in calling itself Communist when it does not practice communism, Mao Tze-tung, the head of the party, declared that a change in name would only provide

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the party's enemies with an opportunity to make political capital of the action. He declared that the label is unimportant; that ideas and deeds count.

Mr. Forman had plenty of opportunity to assure himself that along with their economic achievements the Communists were carrying on a constant and effective struggle against the Japanese. Almost half of his book is devoted to a graphic account of his visits to guerrilla groups and their fighting on widely scattered parts of the front. He saw enough to be convinced that the secret of the Communist strength is to be found in the unity of home front and war front. In contrast to Kuomintang China, where outbreaks between peasants and soldiers are not infrequent, he found that the peasants throughout the Northwest kept the Red Army closely informed regarding Japanese movements and joined in the battles wherever possible.

The popularity of the Communists among the local population obviously has an important bearing on the protracted conflict between the Kuomintang and the Communists. When Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of the Eighth Route Army, was asked if he was not apprehensive over the possibility that after the war the Kuomintang would inherit the vast quantities of American supplies that would be needed to drive the Japanese out of China, he replied that if civil war came, the Kuomintang would find that they had to fight not merely the Red Army but the people of China. The Communist leaders refused to concede the inevitability of a civil war, however, and insisted that China's political problem could be solved under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership if the government would intensify the struggle against Japan and if the government was "elected by the people with the cooperation and support of all classes and all parties." Since the Communist program, stated in these terms, appears to coincide with American policy for China, Americans will profit by a careful study of the resources and prospects of this little-known movement that has sprung up in China's Northwest.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

BRIEFER COMMENT

Gertrude Stein's Wars

IT IS A LONG WAY from "Toasted Susie is my ice cream," a famous and representative example of Miss Stein's middle style, to the subject of her new book, "Wars I Have Seen," Miss Stein's direct experience of the Nazi occupation of France (Random House, $2.50). Yet Miss Stein has made the long journey without losing any of her possessions or prepossessions, her prose rhythm, her affectation, her common sense, her complacency, her fascination with herself, or her love of unqualified generalization about the inner essence of anything and everything.

This book was begun during the early part of the occupation, when the German victory seemed overwhelming, and thus there is a mounting excitement as the book continues until finally the G. I.'s arrive to discuss geography with Miss Stein, to take her for a ride in a jeep, to tell her that she is read in public schools in America, and to show her how different they are from older generations in America.

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By GLENWAY WESCOTT
Author of The Grandmothers and Goodbye, Wisconsin

Apartment in Athens

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In between Miss Stein's studio *obiter dicta* a clear picture of the anxiety and the terror of the occupation comes through. There is even a moment when Miss Stein feels that "this kind of war is funny it is awful but it does make it all unreal, really unreal." Miss Stein does not understand this war or the other wars she has lived through. But who does? Her mind triumphs in her effort to understand war and peace in terms of the *mystique* of the *avant-garde* of Picasso's youth. Through her anecdotes and her observations her prose rhythm asserts itself like an unbroken sea, saying more than any statement can about the beautiful serenity, wakefulness, and egotism of her being. Hence even when she performs such feats of pure irrelevance as the thought that wars may have as their cause the presence of kings named George on the British throne, she remains delightful, full of intuition and self-indulgence, full of pleasure and truth, writing as if she might write and the reader might read forever, an assumption which shows the essential bond between genius and courage.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

In the Bed of Eternity

THE LITTLE POLISH CANON who four hundred years ago discovered that the earth moves and turns around the sun defied everyone's belief and the most sacred authorities —including God Himself as He is quoted in the Bible. Even for the "rebels" of his time Copernicus's discovery was too rebellious. Luther called him "a fool." Calvinus asked: "Who will venture to place the authority of Copernicus above that of the Holy Spirit?" Two hundred and fifty years later Goethe stated that "of all discoveries and opinions none have exerted a greater influence on the human spirit than the doctrine of Copernicus."

The miraculous story of this total victory against ignorance and prejudice won by a single man is told by Hermann Kesten in "Copernicus and His World" (Roy, $3.50). Kesten, a German novelist of stature, does not novelize his hero but sticks conscientiously to the meager established facts about the life of Copernicus. By his art and power of penetration, however, Kesten succeeds in bringing the Polish canon alive, in showing the reader the man and his surroundings, his modest manners and his promethean ideas, the routine of his daily job and the greatness of his eternal work. Copernicus, in his own words, wrote "for mathematicians only." Kesten makes intelligible even that part of Copernicus's works which seems impenetrable for non-mathematicians. He reveals himself in this book as an excellent pupil of those great humanists who were poets as well as scientists, playwrights as well as historians. Splendid pictures of the fascinating men and women who populated Copernicus's world and exciting historical adventures are included in Kesten's report of the development of mankind's knowledge from Ptolemaeus to Einstein—from the belief that we live in the stable center of the universe to the opinion of modern astronomy that we are, as Kesten puts it, "insects on the surface of one of the smallest satellites of a dwarf star in a local system of one of the millions of milky ways."

"Copernicus and His World" does not deal with Hitler or Stalin or Germany's reeducation. Its author—a refugee from Germany and France—might be accused of escapism. Mr. Kesten has a reply in the sentence he quotes from the astronomer Johannes Kepler, who during the Thirty Years' War wrote as follows: "When a storm is raging and shipwreck threatens the ship of state we can do nothing more dignified than to cast the anchor of our peaceful studies in the bed of eternity." There are, it seems, two kinds of escapism. One leads astray, the other to higher observation points and deeper understanding. Kesten's is of the second variety.

JOSEPH BORNSTEIN

Tom Paine's Trigger Words

IT IS PART of the universal genius of Thomas Paine that interest in him and his writings can be revived among successive generations of rebels. Paine dealt with the immediate issues that stirred the men of his time—British tyranny in "Common Sense," French egalitarianism in "The Rights of Man," deism in "The Age of Reason." There were other propagandists as potent maybe as Paine—Sam Adams comes to mind—but the works of none of the others come down to us with the vitality that makes the reading of Paine today so exciting an experience.

Howard Fast, in editing "The Selected Work of Thomas Paine" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, $3.50), gives us the glowing gist of the man whose crowded life he novelized in "Citizen Tom Paine." Mr. Fast devotes a few pages to setting his well-chosen selections in the framework of the career of their liberty-intoxicated author and then lets Paine have his way with us. For lovers of freedom everywhere there is no better spring tonic than the rereading of the trigger words that set off such magnificent explosions.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

DRAMA

PHILLIP BARRY is a playwright with a considerable gift for sophisticated comedy and a great yearning for something else. Time and time again he has, in the same play, wavered uncertainly between mysticism or moralizing on the one hand and mere sophistication on the other, and in "Foolish Notion," which the Theater Guild is presenting at the Martin Beck, he was apparently resigned to wavering again. But this time he reckoned without his star, Miss Tallulah Bankhead, who has undertaken to do for him what he has seldom been able to do for himself in the course of more than twenty years of usually successful playwriting—namely, make up his mind. Quite possibly the role was written with her in mind, but almost certainly the intention was not that she should take the whole thing quite so completely into her own hands and make it, as she does, her show. In one respect the result is fortunate. Without her the play would almost certainly have been a commercial failure. Thanks to her large and loyal public it is very likely to be a success. But we shall never know precisely what the author's original intention was.

Whether foolish or not, the notion on which the play is based is certainly elaborate. The plot concerns a celebrated actress, or rather a celebrated stage personality, whose whimsical husband disappeared into the British army before we

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entered the war. As the action begins, she is about to marry again, choosing this time her leading man, when a mysterious message arrives by wire intimating that the supposedly dead husband is about to turn up again. The leading man is furious; her adopted child is delighted; and her father is annoyed. She herself sees the whole thing in terms of a very fat part for which fate has obligingly cast her. Each of the four imagines what will happen when the long-lost husband walks in, and we see acted out in four separate versions of the return what each is imagining. Then, at last, he does really come back, and, thanks to the presence of a young girl whose unsuspected love for him was the original cause of his disappearance, everything ends much more easily and much more satisfactorily than anyone had imagined it would.

Two of the four fanciful versions of the soldier's return are moderately dull; two are highly diverting. That imagined by the child, full of elementary dramatics and ending with a murder, is very amusing in a manner rather similar to that of a famous scene in "A Kiss for Cinderella" by Mr. Barry's namesake. Miss Bankhead's version is hilarious and more, for it is a biting, almost a cruel, exposé of the special sort of exhibitionist egotism it parodies, and Miss Bankhead plays it *con amore*. A few years ago in "The Skin of our Teeth" she discovered the delight of mocking herself and her profession, and she does it again superbly, reaching the climax in an almost farcical scene where she uses an urn supposed to contain her husband's ashes as the essential prop for an impromptu sketch in which she plays the role of the wife discovering too late what true love means.

If "Foolish Notion" were simpler, one could accept it as no more than a vehicle for Miss Bankhead and think, perhaps, that that was enough. As it stands, the whole structure is too elaborate not to seem intended to be something more; too cluttered with the loose ends of ill-defined emotions and imperfectly stated themes not to suggest that Mr. Barry intended originally something much more complicated, as well as, possibly, more profound. One is left with the feeling both that there is a vast amount of lost motion in the play as it stands and that the members of the supporting cast—including Henry Hull as the missing husband and Donald Cook as the prospective one—have been reduced to the status of mere feeders for Miss Bankhead. To a certain extent she saves the evening. But she cannot quite save the play, which lacks clarity because it lacks simplicity. Apparently the intention is that four people shall be revealed to us by means of the four imaginary dramas which they stage for themselves. That intention is never sharply enough defined to be really effective.

"It's a Gift" (The Playhouse) is a rather elementary but also fearfully elaborate farce about a puritanical college professor whose daughter stands to inherit a fortune by the will of a once erring aunt provided the said daughter produces an illegitimate child by a certain date. As an actor Curt Goetz, the author-star, has a gift for broad comedy which might serve to good advantage in musical comedy or vaudeville, but this play will hardly do.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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Films

JAMES AGEE

THE Paramount newsreel issue about Iwo Jima subjects the tremendous material recorded by Navy and Marine Corps and Coast Guard camera men to an unusually intelligent job of editing, writing, and soundtracking. I noticed with particular respect a couple of good uses of flat silence; the use of a bit of dialogue on "intercoms," recorded on the spot, in a tank; and the use, at the end, of a still photograph down whose wall the camera moved slowly. Still photographs of motionless objects have a very different quality from motion-picture photographs of motionless objects; as Jean Cocteau observed, time still moves in the latter. The still used here was of dead men, for whom time no longer moved. The device is not a new one; Griffith (or William Bitzer) used it for the same purpose at the end of a battle in "The Birth of a Nation," and René Clair used stop-shots for a somewhat related purpose in "The Crazy Ray." But it is a device too basic to poetic resource on the screen to discard as plagiarized, and I am glad to see it put back into use so unpretentiously and well.

The Fox version of the same battle—the only other version I could find—drew on the same stock, and is interesting to compare with the Paramount. In one way it is to its credit that it is much less noisy and much less calculated to excite; it is in other words less rhetorical, and the temptations to rhetoric must be strong in handling such material, and usually result in falseness. But in this Paramount issue it seems to me that rhetoric was used well, to construct as well as might be in ten hours' work and in ten minutes on the screen an image of one of the most terrible battles in history. And that is not to mention plain sense: the coherent shape of violence in the Paramount version, which moves from air to sea to land; its intact, climactic use of the footage exposed through a tank-slit, which in the Fox version is chopped along through the picture; and its use of the recorded dialague, which Fox didn't even touch. The Fox version does on the other hand have two shots—a magically sinister slashing of quicksilvery water along the sand, and a heartrending picture of a wounded Marine, crawling toward help with the scuttling motions of a damaged insect—which I am amazed to see omitted from a piece of work so astute as Paramount's.

Very uneasily, I am beginning to believe that, for all that may be said in favor of our seeing these terrible records of war, we have no business seeing this sort of experience except through our presence and participation. I have neither space nor mind, yet, to try to explain why I believe this is so; but since I am reviewing and in ways recommending that others see one of the best and most terrible of war films, I cannot avoid mentioning my perplexity. Perhaps I can briefly suggest what I mean by this rough parallel: whatever other effects it may or may not have, pornography is invariably degrading to anyone who looks at or reads it. If at an incurable distance from participation, hopelessly incapable of reactions adequate to the event, we watch men killing each other, we may be quite as profoundly degrading ourselves and, in the process, betraying and separating ourselves the farther from those we are trying to identify ourselves with; none the less because we tell ourselves sincerely that we sit in comfort and watch carnage in order to nurture our patriotism, our conscience, our understanding, and our sympathies.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

ALTHOUGH to my knowledge Arshile Gorky is having his first one-man show (at Julien Levy's through March 31), he is by no means a fledgling painter. Examples of his work have in recent years appeared in many group exhibitions. From the first there has been no question about the level of his art, regardless of the varying quality of individual pictures; his painting early won a central position in the main stream flowing out of cubism and until recently stayed close to the most important problems of contemporary painting in the high style.

The critical issue in Gorky's case was how much of the value of his work was intrinsic and how much symptomatic, evidential, educational. He has had trouble freeing himself from influences and asserting his own personality. Until a short while ago he struggled under the influences of Picasso and Miró. That he fell under such influences was ten years ago enough proof of his seriousness and alertness—but that he re-

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mained under them so long was disheartening. He became one of those artists who awaken perpetual hope the fulfilment of which is indefinitely postponed. Because Gorky remained so long a promising painter, the suspicion arose that he lacked independence and masculinity of character.

Last year his painting took a radically new turn that seems to bear this suspicion out. He broke his explicit allegiance to Picasso and Miró and replaced them with the earlier Kandinsky and—that prince of comic-strippers, Matta. Formerly he had adhered to the cubist and post-cubist convention of flat, profiled forms and flat textures—the convention within which the main current more or less of high painting since Seurat and Cézanne has flowed. But now he changed suddenly to the prismatic, iridescent color and open forms of abstract, "biomorphic" surrealist painting. And these lately he has begun to cover with the liquid design and blurred, faintly three-dimensional shapes of Kandinsky's earlier abstract paintings.

This new turn does not of itself make Gorky's painting necessarily better or worse. But coming at this moment in the development of painting, it does make his work less serious and less powerful and emphasizes the dependent nature of his inspiration. For the problems involved in Kandinsky's earlier abstract paintings were solved by Kandinsky himself, while the problems of "biomorphism" were never really problems for modern painting, having been dealt with before impressionism and consigned since Odilon Redon to the academic basement. What this means is that Gorky has at last taken the easy way out—corrupted perhaps by the example of the worldly success of the imported surrealists and such neo-romantics as Tchelitchew. Certainly, his paintings register success within their own terms more consistently than before, but those terms are lower than they used to be. And certainly his art radiates more charm and has become much easier for the uninitiated to take. But it all goes hand in hand with the renunciation of ambition.

Yet perhaps Gorky was meant to be charming all along; perhaps this is his true self and true level; perhaps he should have pastured his imagination in the surrealist meadow long before this; perhaps his "corruption" was inevitable.

And yet again, it is not quite that simple. For one thing: whether or not he is a first-rate artist, Gorky is definitely a first-rate painter, a master of the mechanics and cuisine. He does far, far more with the "biomorphism" of Matta *et al.* than they themselves can do. For another thing: Gorky still continues to show promise! The most recently executed picture at his show, called "They Will Take My Island"—black looping lines and transparent washes on a white ground—indicates a partial return to serious painting and shows Gorky for the first time as almost completely original. It is not a strong picture and still makes concessions to charm, but it is a genuine contemporary work of art.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THERE is important news in the fact that Victor has resumed production of a number of recordings which it placed on the inactive list for the duration of the war. And I have thought that readers of this column might want to know some of the outstanding things that are to be available.

Of Mozart there will be the Piano Concerto K.453 (Set 481), one of the greatest of the series, in a performance with Edwin Fischer that rushes the music too much for its proper effect but is pretty good otherwise. Also the superb Budapest Quartet recording of the Quartet K.465 (Set 285); and the Quintet K.593 (Set 350), performed very inadequately by the old Pro Arte Quartet and Hobday. Still missing are the Piano Concerto K.450, the Quintet K.515 and Quartet K.428, the Sonata K.526 for violin and piano.

Four volumes of Haydn's quartets have been restored, including Set 527 which offers three of Haydn's masterpieces in the form—Opus 20 No. 4, Opus 74 No. 2, Opus 77 No. 2. Another masterpiece, Opus 64 No. 3, is in Set 689, together with two fine works, Opus 50 No. 6 and Opus 74 No. 1; Set 595 offers three excellent works, Opus 20 No. 1, Opus 55 No. 3, Opus 76 No. 4; and Set 525 three others, Opus 33 No. 2, Opus 64 No. 6, Opus 71 No. 1. The Pro Arte performances range from poor to fair. Still missing are Set 528, with the great Opus 64 No. 4 and the fine Opus 54 No. 3 and Opus 55 No. 1; and the recordings of the Symphonies Nos. 67, 80, 86, and 97.

The superb Budapest Quartet performance of Beethoven's Opus 130 (Set 157) will be available again; and one can only hope that the new presssings of the recording will give as good reproduction of it as the old. And Schnabel's performance of the Sonata Opus 106 (*Hammerklavier*) (Set 403), with its distortion of outlines and slovenliness of execution in the first and last movements, but with its statement of the slow movement that makes it a tremendous experience. Still missing are the Casals performances of the Cello Sonatas Opus 102 No. 1 and Opus 69.

Verdi's "Otello" (Set 152), with beautiful singing by Carbone and Granforte, has been restored. Also two excellent single records of passages from Act 3 of Wagner's "Meistersinger": 7682, with the quintet sung by Elisabeth Schumann, Melchior, Schorr, Parr, and Williams, and *Eucht macht ihr's leicht* sung by Schorr; and 7681, with *Abendlich glühend* sung by Melchior and Schorr, and *Aha! da streicht die Lene* sung by Schorr. But not the Rethberg-Schorr record of the lovely duet beginning with *Sieh' Ev'chen! Dächt' ich doch* and the later *Hat man mit dem Schuhwerk.*

And still missing are Elisabeth Schumann's Schubert Recital, Lotte Lehmann's two Song Recitals, and Lehmann's volume of Wolf songs.

To the foregoing report of good news I must add a warning—that production

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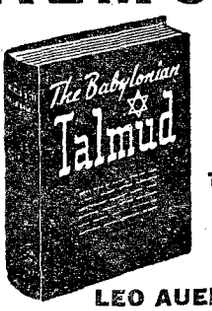

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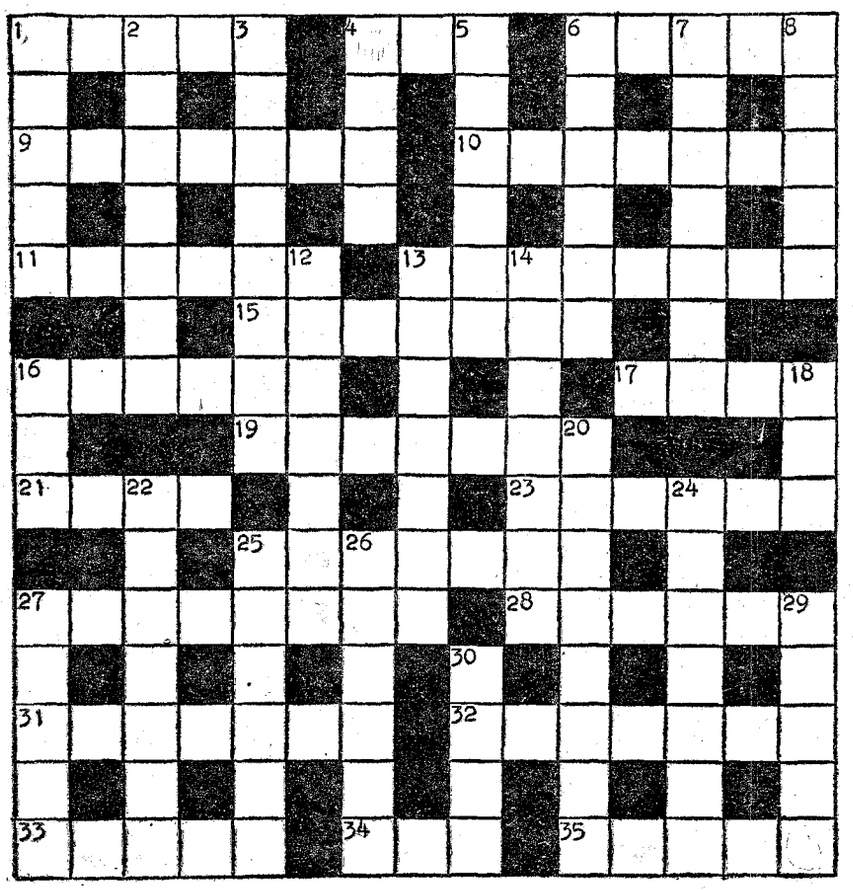
Crossword Puzzle No. 108

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Can be cut without injury
4 Keep a watch on this
6 It may fill the mattress or just a fold
9 A rum soul, perhaps, but he founded Rome
10 The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles
11 It's not only the rooster that sleeps thus
13 What we call a billion the French call this
15 Waldteufel, the Alsatian composer, was a favorite of this French Empress
16 A case comes before the Royal Navy concerning troops
17 "And how can man die better than facing fearful ----?"
19 Insinuated contempt
21 The word women love best
23 Scattered senses
25 Member of the firm of Pullem & Fillem
27 The alternative seems to be an Italian sort of conservative
28 The right to eat
31 Those who make tracks are likely to get *him* on their trail
32 Visitor making his voice heard?
33 An ass
34 Did care really kill one?
35 Dog that is another animal

DOWN

1 Bacon's physician
2 Self-important
3 It's something to get a real rest from these story tellers
4 "Thick and ---- they came at last"
5 A man might make his quietus with it, said Hamlet
6 The length of a dismal face
7 Garden of fruit-trees, mostly apple
8 Naked (anag.)
12 Comparatively bright
13 A keepsake from men to me
14 Liberty carried to extremes
16 Very chic, old girl. Where did you get it? (hidden)
18 "Naughtinesses"
20 Told off
22 Is a dame, literally and anagrammatically (hyphen, 3-4)
24 Auto to vocalize about
25 The ubiquitous beast of Spain
26 An explosive acid
27 This is all my eye!
29 "Lord above us" (Wordsworth)
30 The great novelist is incomplete, but betrays his nationality

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 107

ACROSS:—1 PUNIC; 4 HEADS; 7 RIPE; 9 REBUTS; 10 TRIER; 12 ROOK; 13 TRET; 15 RED BOOK; 17 LIEDER; 18 TIMING; 19 AXE; 21 VERONAL; 23 NODDERS; 24 BED; 26 OBTUSE; 28 BERETS; 31 ENTERED; 32 ACRE; 35 EAST; 36 HEXAD; 37 AUBURN; 38 ODIN; 39 TOTAL; 40 HERTS.

DOWN:—1 PEEK; 2 NEUTER; 3 CASHBOX; 4 HOT-POT; 5 ADIT; 6 SURE; 7 RURAL; 8 PRONE; 11 ERMINE; 14 TAGUS; 15 RED NOSE; 16 KINDRED; 19 ALB; 20 END; 21 VIOLA; 22 RETIRE; 25 EYEWASH; 27 ENODAL; 28 BERBER; 29 ELAND; 30 SATIN; 33 CHIT; 34 EXIT; 35 EROS.

of the restored recordings probably will be as limited as that of the recordings which have been supposedly available during the past two or three years, and as insufficient for the demand. That means you should place your order with your dealer immediately; but it also means that you will be able to get some of the things you want only by going from store to store repeatedly to see what has come in.

Though Victor has announced the recording of Berlioz's Symphony "Harold in Italy" made recently by Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony, it has not arrived; and all that I have received from Victor that falls within the range of interest of this column is a reissue in a picture album of the set (740; $6.50) of Brahms's Piano Concerto No. 2 performed by Horowitz with Toscanini and the N.B.C. Symphony. The work is characteristic of Brahms's large-scale writing—the first movement in the way it communicates pumped-up grandiosity in a synthetically contrived large structure, the third in the way it drips saccharine; but I can stand listening to the finale. An unsuitably sinuous and svelte performance of the solo part by Horowitz is fitted into a superb orchestral framework created by Toscanini; and the whole is beautifully reproduced by a recording made not in Studio 8H but in Carnegie Hall. The surfaces of my copy are pronouncedly audible.

I have also received Marian Anderson's old record (14210; $1) of Schubert's "Ave Maria" and "Aufenthalt." My copy is afflicted with various noises, some of which get mixed in with and aggravate the shrill high notes that Anderson has recently learned how not to produce; and there are lifeless accompaniments by Kosti Vehainen.

CONTRIBUTORS

LIN YUTANG is perhaps the best-known Chinese interpreter of China to the West. His most recent book, "The Vigil of a Nation," has occasioned a controversy, in which the author himself joins in this issue of *The Nation.*

CHARLES ABRAMS is counsel to the American Federation of Housing Authorities and author of "Revolution in Land."

JOHN W. WHITE, who has represented American newspapers in Santiago, Chile, for many years, recently completed a trip through South America.

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